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Politburo Pledges Solidarity With Agrarian Union
AU0404122289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 1 Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on meeting of the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee with the permanent board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union in Sofia on 31 March: "On the Joint Work of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union in the Conditions of Restructuring"; first paragraph underlined]

[Text] The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the permanent board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Front [BZNS] ascribe great importance to the joint work of the Communists and United Agrarians on developing the workers' creative energy for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria, in accordance with the July Concept and the decisions of the December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

This issue was the subject of the meeting between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the BZNS Permanent Board that was held on 31 March 1989. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and BZNS Secretary Petur Tanchev made statements on the progress of the restructuring of socialism in Bulgaria and on the tasks faced by the party organizations and BZNS groups at the new stage of our society's development.

The two leaders stressed that the BCP and BZNS take pride in their unity of action. This alliance is not the fruit of short-term policy considerations, but is an expression of the Bulgarian people's long-term interests, our democratic traditions, and social ideals.

This unity of action has deep historical roots and achievements. Notwithstanding certain difficulties and errors, the BCP and BZNS have advanced side by side toward socialism. Their unity of action has left deep traces in our most recent history.

The meeting especially noted the substantial contribution of the BZNS to Bulgaria's history, to building socialism in Bulgaria, and to strengthening the nation's moral and political unity.

The BCP's April general line rendered a historic service for the consolidation of the fraternal unity of action between the BCP and BZNS. This unity of action produced its richest fruits during the years of April construction.

The relations between the BCP and BZNS form the foundation of a lasting political alliance with a great future. This alliance, which has withstood the test of time, also proves its vitality today. Thanks to the alliance, our political system has a broad social basis.

The unity of action of the BCP and BZNS has contributed to actively involving the workers in the construction of socialism in our country. The results of the workers' joint work and struggle are being revealed in the country's economic growth, in Bulgaria's intellectual flowering, and in her international prestige.

Joint work has intensified on increasing Bulgaria's authority in the international arena and on popularizing the experience of the unity of action of the BCP and BZNS in socialist construction. The new developments in the contemporary world and the new political thinking open up even wider opportunities for establishing Bulgaria's peace-loving foreign policy in the Balkans and throughout the world.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo and BZNS permanent board state that positive results have been achieved in fulfilling the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the Fifth BZNS Congress and in implementing the July Concept for the revolutionary restructuring of society.

The December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, in analyzing the achievements of recent years, assessed the course of the restructuring in Bulgaria in light of world processes, and outlined the directions for its further implementation in practice. New opportunities were revealed for carrying out the economic and political reforms, and qualitatively new forms of economic activity were adopted. Company-based organization creates conditions for raising the national economy to a new, high level, for linking the interests of man most closely with the processes of restructuring, for establishing self-management among the labor collectives, for solving pressing socioeconomic problems, and for winning new positions in the international division of labor.

Our primary tasks are to implement a profound and radical change in the development of the productive forces in the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, to ensure that appropriate changes are made in production and other social relations, and to expand socialist democracy and self-management. The renewal of agrarian policy and the development of the Bulgarian village in the future will continue to occupy a central place in the joint work of the BCP and BZNS.

The Communists, United Agrarians, party nonmembers, and state and social organs and organizations are directing their efforts toward implementing the new ecological policy and reorganizing nature protection activities for preserving our land, waters, and forests, and increasing the soil's fertility.

The increase in the BCP's role and responsibility as the vanguard of society also presupposes increasing the role of the BZNS and its responsibility to history, as well as of the dedicated work and struggle of the United Agrarians for the renewal of socialism on Bulgarian soil.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo and BZNS permanent board voice confidence that the Communists and United Agrarians will continue to be in the forefront of restructuring and establishing the Fatherland Front as a nationwide movement, an expression of the patriotic unity of the nation, a movement based on the aims and ideals of socialism.

The traditions of political pluralism, which rest on the foundation of the unity of action of the BCP and BZNS, are now acquiring a new quality. This is an expression of the fact that in Bulgaria the Communist Party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, social organizations, and so on exist, which conduct their own policies in the relevant fields, based on the principles of socialism. One is referring here to a new element in the development of our political system. The historic task of making the people an agent of power—an agent that possesses and exercises power—will give new meaning to the cooperation and unity of action between the BCP and BZNS, and influence this cooperation with new force.

The BCP and BZNS are striving together to increase socialist democracy and guarantee the new rights and responsibilities of the self-managing organizations, in order to develop the latter as viable social communities.

The BCP Central Committee and BZNS permanent board believe that the forthcoming establishment—under the Fatherland Front National Council—of a committee of political and social organizations and movements, whose backbone will be formed by the BCP and BZNS, will raise the moral and political unity of all social forces to a new level, and will develop and enrich socialist pluralism as a means of giving full-blooded expression to the interests, opinions, and initiatives of the workers and their voluntary independent associations, for the prosperity of our native land.

In this committee, in addition to the BCP and BZNS, the social organizations and movements, religious communities, and voluntary independent associations will find a place to publicly fulfill their duty to the nation. Similar committees should also be established at oblast and municipal level. A start must be made in the very near future on creating this new form of unity of action under our conditions for all the social forces that are working for Bulgaria's ascendancy.

The main field for the work of the BCP and BZNS is provided by the municipalities and townships, which are obtaining real power and great rights, obligations, and responsibilities. The BCP and BZNS will direct their united action toward turning the municipalities into harmonious self-managing units.

The cooperation within the supreme organ, the National Assembly, will also reflect the great possibilities of the democratization of our society.

The BCP and BZNS are united in their desire for renewal of the socialist legal system, for broad glasnost, and for a civic socialist society.

The July Concept forms the basis for comprehensively developing the national forces and for renewing our creative potential as a people and state. The BCP Central Committee Politburo and BZNS permanent board are sure that all workers in the material and intellectual spheres and all social, religious, and other movements will support the platform for further uniting the Bulgarian socialist nation. In the forefront of their joint work stand the tasks for direct, concrete, and effective activity to strengthen the Bulgarian socialist national consciousness.

The unity of action between the BCP and BZNS is aimed at further deepening Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and our relations with the other socialist countries. They reiterate once again their complete support for the CPSU's course of revolutionary restructuring and renewal of Soviet society, and for a new climate and confidence in international relations in accordance with the new political thinking.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo and BZNS permanent board are convinced that the unity of actions of the Communists and United Agrarians will reveal itself even more as an important political factor in the struggle to implement the concept on the further construction of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Today, no more important task faces the BCP and BZNS than the task of establishing restructuring as the personal cause and destiny of the Communists, United Agrarians, party nonmembers, and all workers in order to create the necessary conditions and prerequisites for establishing Bulgaria as a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

DPRK Health Minister, Delegation Pay Visit

Discussion With Danchev

AU3003163689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 29 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Successful cooperation—this is what links the specialists from the chemical, pharmaceutical, and ethereal oils industries of Bulgarian and the DPRK. Our imports from the DPRK include talc, peppermint oil, and ethereal oils.

A delegation from the DPRK Ministry of Public Health has been visiting Bulgaria to investigate the opportunities for expanding cooperation in this field. A protocol was signed in the Scientific Institute on Rose, Ethereal Oil, and Medicinal Plants in Kazanluk on cooperation in the cultivation and production of medicinal and ethereal oil plants, technology exchange, and the mutual exchange of ethereal oils and biologically active substances.

Yesterday [28 March] Petko Danchev, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association, had a meeting with Yi Chong-yul, minister of public health of the DPRK and leader of the delegation. They discussed the possibilities for expanding the cooperation between the two countries in the chemical, pharmaceutical, and ethereal oil industries, paying particular attention to joint investments, setting up joint enterprises to manufacture pharmaceutical products and medical equipment, and expanding the exchange of manufactured medicines. Kim Pyong-il, the DPRK ambassador to Bulgaria, was present at the meeting.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

AU3103130589 Sofia BTA in English
0929 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—A protocol for cooperation in health care was signed yesterday in this country by Mr Mincho Peychev, minister of public health and social welfare, and Mr Yi Chong-yul, minister of public health of the DPRK.

The document determines the basic trends in the two countries' further interrelations in the sphere of medicine on the basis of the intergovernmental agreement, signed between them nine years ago.

The exchange of information on the new achievements in physiotherapy, balneological treatment, children's health care, hygiene and epidemiological control is one of the trends of this cooperation. Visits will be exchanged of doctors from Bulgaria and the DPRK for fellowships. The countries will promote the establishment of direct ties between the medical and research institutes for joint research and practical activity.

The ministers indicated that there are possibilities for cooperation in the production of medicines and medical apparatus.

Contacts in the sphere of phytotherapy and acupuncture, fields in which the Bulgarian doctors study the experience of their colleagues from the DPRK, were highly esteemed. The protocol signed yesterday, regulates the future cooperation in these branches of medicine.

Deals Signed With Saarland Business Delegation

AU3003180889 Sofia BTA in English
1643 GMT 30 Mar 89

["Contacts With FRG Companies Develop Intensively"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—The visit to this country ended of Mr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, minister of economy for the Saarland Province of West Germany, Mr Helmut Wagner, president of the ASCO Group and Mr Max Mueller, president of the Adler Company. In their

talks with Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, at whose invitation they paid a visit, the sides considered a wide range of issues concerning cooperation between Bulgarian companies and companies of the Saarland Province.

There were meetings in a number of associations at which the concrete possibilities for interrelation were discussed. A number of contracts and agreements were signed. "To us," the president of ASCO said, "Bulgaria is a partner, second in significance and interests within the CMEA [Council on Mutual Economic Assistance] framework. We do not wish a sporadic, but a long-term cooperation. In a short period of time we discovered many common things, which we could realize in mutually advantageous projects. We will continue our cooperation with the central department store TSUM, and we are willing to set up joint ventures, to build factories for ready-to-wears and for production of sausages.

ASCO signed an agreement with Farmakhim for production and trade with perfumery and cosmetic products. A memorandum was also signed for the setting up of joint ventures: ASCO-TSUM and ASCO-Denitsa for trade with consumer goods and the creation of new technologies and improvement and electronization of the trade processes.

Job Losses Under Reorganization Discussed

AU3003185389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 29 Mar 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Boyan Ivanchev, adviser to the Council of Ministers, and Danail Danailov, chief of the Main Inspectorate for Legal Protection of Labor of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, by Temenuzhka Khristova: "Dismissal Does Not Inspire Confidence and Cooperation"]

[Text] The editorial office is receiving tips and letters from labor collectives and individual workers who lost their jobs during the enterprises' changeover to a company-based organization of labor. The problem is especially topical, because the number of companies is increasing with every passing day.

What is the labor-law position of the workers and employees of the enterprises and trusts from which companies are being formed and registered? We discussed this problem with with Boyan Ivanchev, adviser to the Council of Ministers, and Danail Danailov, chief of the Main Inspectorate for Legal Protection of Labor of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

[Khristova] Comrade Danailov, is it correct that when companies are formed, the labor-law relationships with the workers and employees are canceled?

[Danailov] This is a fundamental question. The answer is contained in Clause 5 of the Transitional and Concluding Regulations of Decree No. 56 on Economic

Activity, which states: "Existing enterprises and trusts are to be reorganized in the form of companies according to the regulations of Article 11 of this decree." This means the changeover of enterprises and trusts to a company-based organization of labor may not serve as grounds for canceling the contractual labor-law relationships with the workers and employees, because the matter relates to a reorganization, a restructuring, not a cessation or liquidation of their activity.

[Khristova] Comrade Ivanchev, how are the decisions of the competent organs according to Article 11 (the Council of Ministers or a minister appointed by it, a municipal people's council, an administrative council of a cooperative, a leadership of a social organization, and so forth) on establishing a company to be understood and applied, when these decisions state that the economic trust in question ceases its activity and a company is created?

[Ivanchev] From the formal viewpoint, such a decision of the competent organs may be interpreted as referring to a liquidation, a cessation of activity, which will also lead to the redundancy of the workers and employees. However, this is incorrect. The newly created company takes over the assets and liabilities of the enterprises and economic organizations from which it is formed, and the entire labor collective is transferred to the company, together with the property. My answer would not be complete without adding the following: The changeover to a company-based organization of labor is not simply a cessation of activity of one enterprise and the formation of a new one, a situation to which we have already grown accustomed. What we are facing here is a new qualitative change in the organization of labor, a diversity of forms of property, and changes in production relations. From the legal viewpoint, the company is formed not by the act of establishment of the competent organ, but by its registration at the district court of the area in which its head office is located. The court's decision is published in *DURZHAVEN VESTNIK*, and the company comes into existence as a legal person from the date of publication of the decision. In other words, here we have a qualitatively new economic unit—a company, with its own name, and very often with a more varied range of activities. This is why I believe that, although the words "cease" and "form" may be used in the decisions of the competent organs that provide the initiative for forming the company, they should not be understood in the literal sense.

[Khristova] Comrade Danailov, what, more specifically, is the labor-law position of the workers and employees when the companies are formed, and how should the economic leadership act?

[Danailov] Article 123 of the Labor Code applies in this case, which means that the labor-law relationship with the worker or employee does not cease in the event of enterprises merging, of the transfer of a part of one enterprise to another, or in the case of a division of activities between several enterprises. The principle has also been introduced that the enterprise to which the

relevant activity is transferred—in this case the newly created company—is responsible for the obligations to the workers which stem from the labor-law relationship and which arose prior to the reorganization.

More specifically, this means that the signed labor contracts are preserved, and that there is no need for new ones to be concluded. It also means that the worker's or employee's work record document must be brought up to date to ensure that the date to which he worked in the enterprise is known, as well as the date from which he continued to work in the same job or post within the company.

[Khristova] In applying Article 123 of the Labor Code, will compensation, leave, periods of notice, and so on be paid?

[Danailov] No new labor-law relationships arise in these cases, and this means that it is not necessary to give notice of termination of employment or to pay compensation, including payment for unused paid leave.

I would like to make it clear that in cases where it is wrongly understood that the matter relates to the liquidation of the enterprise or economic organization under Article 328, Paragraph 1, Item 1 of the Labor Code, then new labor contracts must be concluded with all the workers and employees, notices of dismissal must be issued, the periods of notice paid, and compensation paid under Article 222 of the Labor Code, including compensation for unused annual paid leave. All this is unnecessary from the organizational, economic, and social viewpoints, and would lead to unneeded social tension and, in some cases, to major social conflicts.

[Khristova] Comrade Ivanchev, the tips and letters reaching our editorial office show that cases of dismissal of numbers of workers and employees are already occurring. How can their rights be protected?

[Ivanchev] The economic leaders who are authorized to conclude and annul labor-law relationships have acted wrongly. The dismissal orders issued by them are not in accordance with the law and should be declared null and void within 3 months of their date of issue to the worker or employee. If they fail to reinstate those dismissed themselves, which is the most correct way, then the workers or employees may submit a claim for reinstatement in their jobs to the Commission on Labor Disputes or the district court. The other, more effective way to annul the illegal dismissal orders is through the specialized trade union control organs. The reinstated workers and employees will be paid compensation at the rate of their gross labor remuneration for the period of unemployment caused by the dismissal, for a maximum period of 4 months, under Article 225 of the Labor Code.

[Khristova] Nonetheless, during the changeover to a company-based organization of labor, it will be necessary to make structural changes and improve the organization and management of the production process, which in many cases will lead to reductions in the numerical strength of the labor collective, redirection of workers, and cuts in workers' and employees' jobs. What provision is there for these cases, Comrade Danailov?

[Danailov] After the company has been formed, personnel cuts may be made, and workers and employees may be redirected to other jobs or made redundant, at the initiative of the administrative council, the leader, and the labor collective, and of the primary labor collective in particular. However, all this should be carried out according to the procedure provided in Articles 328 and 329 of the Labor Code. Both the company and the municipal people's council must show concern for those workers and employees released for this reason and on these grounds, by arranging retraining for them and finding them suitable employment according to their education, specialties, and levels of professional training. What is more, as long as they remain unemployed, they will continue to receive compensation and social assistance for a certain period. This is an issue which should become the subject of legislation as soon as possible.

[Khristova] Whatever the causes, whether they are recurrences of the rejected command-administrative approach, lack of familiarity or failure to master the new normative base, surely the results of these overly hasty and illegal actions of certain economic leaderships are more important. The registration of the company is not the end, but the beginning of the transitional period toward the establishment of company-based organization. The most significant aspect of the change is the creation of a new attitude of the working man and the collective toward the development of the company and their own fate and future, and this is not achieved by creating distrust, instability, and insecurity at the very outset.

Shortcomings in Economic Data Criticized
AU2803194689 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
No 13, 27 Mar 89 p 4

[Ivan Genov article: "Full and Correct Information"]

[Excerpts] "I am pleased that our country was worthily represented at the Olympic games in Seoul. In light of the medals won and the general classifications, we can compete with countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Japan, Sweden, and others. Nevertheless, we should ask ourselves where we stand in terms of economic standards. Perhaps if we had adequate information on this matter, we could think about how and when we will be able to compete with the advanced countries in this respect." In reading these thoughts expressed by Petko Iliev—who was a shepherd in his youth—published in POGLED, issue no. 46, I remembered the recently published data from the Central Statistical Administration on the implementation of the country's socioeconomic plan in 1988. In rereading

this document, I asked myself the same question as Petko Iliev: Do our official statistical data satisfy the increasing craving for more information, and to what deprivation has this system subjected us by submitting optimistic reports over the years, while in our everyday life we are constantly confronted with an acute shortage of numerous goods and their deteriorating quality, as well as with a permanent, secret, or open increase of prices, and so forth?

With a few exceptions, the regularly published data of the Central Statistical Administration do not differ much from each other. They contain sections and subsections, a tremendous number of charts, figures, and percentages. They are trying to analyze some shortages, shortcomings, and omissions. Everything seems correct at first glance. However, a careful examination of these data confirms our conviction that neither their form nor their contents can satisfy the increased requirements for objective, correct, honest, and comprehensive information. [passage omitted]

I would like to point out some of the missing data, such as:

The budget deficit, for example, (which is envisaged to reach R35 billion in the USSR), as well as inflation (which is envisaged to increase from 0.9 to 1.5 percent for different varieties of goods in the USSR). The knowledge about the amount of the deficit and the open discussion on how to overcome it makes it possible to exert social control, so as to prevent the deficit from affecting the social welfare programs. As for the rate of inflation, its publication is necessary in order to provide for an increase in the working people's incomes in accordance with the increase of prices and to improve social assistance for the weaker groups of the population (such as pensioners, invalids, single mothers, and others).

The foreign debt: Certain socialist countries (such as Poland, Hungary, the PRC, Yugoslavia, and recently even the USSR) regularly publish data on their foreign debts, as well as the conclusions and measures to be adopted in this respect. As far as our foreign debt is concerned, we can learn about it only from certain foreign sources. [passage omitted]

Even greater "blank spaces" exist in our statistical data on the question of the standard of living. [passage omitted]

The "existential minimum"—the minimal resources required for a decent human existence—is not mentioned in our statistical data, either. Such data, however, are of exceptional importance from a humanitarian point of view, especially today, in connection with the transition to company-based organization, because people should be informed about the minimal limit of incomes which a given company should provide for them. [passage omitted]

Our people's constant interest in the pace of price increases is a permanent phenomenon. The 1988 report of the Central Statistical Administration, however, devoted no more than a few lines to price increases on the cooperative markets. [passage omitted]

Recent press reports revealed that the state has to provide for the maintenance of 8,779 official limousines, which amounted to annual expenditures exceeding 100 million leva. The Central Statistical Administration could, at least, have reported something on the results of the well-known decree on reducing the number of official automobiles.

Considering the omission of even such innocent data, it would be useless to look for information on the crime rate, prostitution, data on suicides, on alcohol and drug abuse, or on the nationwide and local ecological situation. All excuses claiming that such data would sound like "denigrating socialism" and allegedly represent "a state secret" would appear inadequate against the background of worldwide practices. This is why bureaucratic (and strongly ideologized) justifications related to the fact that the public should not have access to such data would be totally unacceptable.

This is all I have to say. The examples I have cited show that the official statistical data in our country are still very far from Lenin's requirement for "full and correct information." I would like to recall Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statement that more information means greater responsibility and more control, as well as greater awareness. It is evident that the role of full and correct information is increasing even more now that our country has reached a stage of drastic change in its development. This requirement directly stems from the July Concept. Everyone will agree that in order to follow the path of the July Concept we should know exactly where we stand at a given moment, what we have accomplished, and how we have accomplished it, as well as what is expected from us in the near and more distant future.

Economic Ministry Publishes Financial Measures
AU2903132389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] The following important acts are published in Issue No 24 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

Order of the Ministry of Planning and Economy and the Bulgarian National Bank on amending Order No 2 on Interest Rates. Paragraph 5 of the additional instructions of the order is amended. The interest on temporary credits in leva granted by the banks to the people's councils is determined according to the procedure of Article 10, Paragraph 1, Items 1 and 2 of the order. The cash in the people's councils' budget and nonbudget accounts and funds accumulates interest in accordance with the provisions of Article 11, Paragraph 1—at an interest rate of 1 percent. The interest rate on temporary credits of the republican budget is set at 0.5 percent. The same interest rate is also set for cash in the republican budget accounts and in the state's nonbudget accounts and funds.

The Ministry of Planning and Economy and the Bulgarian National Bank have published an instruction amending Instruction No 4-44-MF [of the former Ministry of Finance] and No 160-BNB [of the Bulgarian National Bank] on stock-taking and the revaluation of material and commodity stocks and on the arrangement of account relationships in connection with alterations to prices and the amounts of trade discounts and surcharges. Item 22 of the instruction is amended so that increases and decreases in wholesale prices and trade discounts relating to available material and commodity stocks at the date of the alteration are accounted for by adjusting the companies' own circulating capital within a maximum period of 30 days from the date of the declaration of the results of the revaluation. Differences arising from increases and decreases in retail prices and available material and commodity stocks that are implemented by decision of the state organs are settled through the state budget within the same 30-day period from the date of their declaration.

CPCZ Central Committee Session Continues

Fojtik Discusses Education

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["Report of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on Tasks of Czechoslovak Education Under the Conditions of Society's Restructuring. Delivered by Comrade Jan Fojtik at the 13th Session of the Party Central Committee on 30 March 1989"]

[Text] Comrades: As Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, already stated at the 13th CPCZ Central Committee session, we are to assess the current situation in education and to determine its tasks under the conditions of our society's restructuring.

Education cannot stand on the sidelines with respect to the contemporary changes, but instead must play an important role in them. The development of schools and their modernization, corresponding to the new needs of society's development, are some of the decisive prerequisites for economic and social progress. School makes it possible to keep abreast of the great changes that are taking place in the world in the material-technical base, as well as in the intellectual sphere. Education bears an immense responsibility in molding the young generation. Therefore, it must have a priority place in the policy of the socialist state.

In connection with the opening speech by Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, who assessed the current situation and specified details of the party's tasks in the given period, we can note that the political atmosphere at schools corresponds with the characteristic he noted. The findings from the life of schools, party bodies, and organizations, and from the discussion that preceded the preparations for the Central Committee session, show that the overwhelming majority of teachers, school personnel, and students accept restructuring and are interested in its success. They support the policy of the party expressed in the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress and in the conclusions of the 7th, 9th, 10th CPCZ Central Committee sessions, and seek ways to apply these conclusions in their work. They want the results of restructuring to demonstrate, as soon as possible, that the shortcomings that are pointed out are being eliminated more resolutely. This is documented not only by their increased interest in domestic political events and international political events, but also by their efforts to play a more active part in resolving problems connected with schools' internal life.

Nevertheless, among some school personnel, including Communists, we come across helplessness, insecurity, and an attitude of wait-and-see. On the other hand, there are also quite a number of people who are impatient and who have radical views. There are even people who see in restructuring an opportunity to assert intentions that

are at variance with the objectives of restructuring and at variance with socialism. These views and attitudes must in no case be underestimated or ignored. It is necessary to deal with them responsibly, develop ideopolitical work, and not permit formalism in the educational activity of schools, which greatly affects this activity in quite a few places.

We welcome and support social activation at secondary schools and institutes of higher education. We are convinced that they will even cope with a complex situation that might arise. In the teaching corps, among vocational instructors, educators and, especially, teachers at institutes of higher education, there are a sufficient number of Communists and those who are dedicated to socialism. They are a great political force on which we rely.

The preparations for the CPCZ Central Committee session on education lasted a long time. The discussion of the Analysis of the Czechoslovak Educational System, which was formulated by the Ministries of Education, Youth, and Physical Training of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] and the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR], was a part of this. Collectives' teaching staff in schools and school facilities, committees of legislative bodies, and bodies of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Youth Union and other social organizations of the National Front addressed the analysis. All CPCZ regional and district committees, regional national committees, and district national committees expressed their views on this. A summary report of the analysis was discussed by the Governments of the CSSR, the CSR, and the SSR. On the basis of those deliberations, as evidenced by the material that was sent to you, some problems are already being dealt with.

The CPCZ Central Committee session was preceded by an extensive public discussion in the press, radio, and television. Many citizens presented their recommendations and ideas to the CPCZ Central Committee and the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training. Sociological surveys were also employed. An aktiv of prominent functionaries of institutes of higher education expressed its opinion on the work of high institutes of higher education, and all rectors of institutes of higher education sent detailed reports to the CPCZ Central Committee summarizing the opinions of this aktiv.

The Educational Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Committee's Commission for Work With Youth were involved in the preparations for the session. The Committee for Party Work in the CSR and the Presidium of the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] Central Committee also expressed their views.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium sees this activity as an indication of the exceptional interest in education and its further development, and in education's fulfilling its duty and enjoying the necessary conditions for doing so. The discussion was extensive and stimulating, and the views expressed, as is usually the case, often

considerably differed. Also, voices expressing serious consternation over the current situation in education were heard. The entire discussion provides us—especially the administrators of the educational sphere—exceptionally valuable material, to which we must apply ourselves with responsibility. Nothing should be ignored, and the information media should react in a suitable manner to views which we do not consider correct and which reflect subjectivist prejudice or unrealistic demands.

It is necessary to say openly that the complexity of the development of the social processes of the present time, and the contradictions regarding the perception of many important issues concerning the development of the Czechoslovak educational system and the openness of this system, do not make it possible, even at today's session, to give an unequivocal answer to all the problems currently facing education, to problems that are often passionately discussed. It will be possible to provide an answer to many of these problems only after further discussions in the appropriate competent bodies, with the participation of the interested public. However, these problems should be solved without unnecessary procrastination, consistently, and, at the same time, prudently, in accordance with real possibilities, in the presence of all people whom they concern. Because the principle of openness applies generally, we should abide by it—especially in education—as strictly as possible.

There is not the least reason for haste, which would lead to hasty cabinet decisions, as has been the case more than once in the past. A prudent approach would correspond to the views of both the general public and experts, who emphasize, in the first place, the necessary changes in education being oriented toward improving schools' work; toward the genuine modernization of content and teaching methods; toward strengthening its socialist character; and toward young people leaving our schools well trained for their professions and the tests of life.

It is especially up to education how the up-and-coming generation succeeds in maintaining and developing what our people have accomplished to date, especially in the struggle for socialism, to what extent this generation identifies itself with the ideals and values of socialism, and whether it succeeds in making its particular mark on the further development of our socialist fatherland.

Therefore, education should be the subject of our daily attention. The fact that our party Central Committee is currently dealing with education and that it wishes to assess its state and topical tasks as objectively as possible, is directly connected with the restructuring of our society that is now beginning. Enhancing the education and awareness of the working people and generally improving their cultural standard are integral parts of this truly revolutionary process, the basis of which is the activation of the human factor in the interest of the further development and full assertion of society's material and intellectual potential.

The Existing Approaches Do Not Suffice

The experience to date does not suffice to carry out restructuring in our country. This process also places the educational system in a new situation. Its further development requires, together with the application of principles on which the socialist school has been built, that we assert new approaches and give ourselves new and, as can be seen, unprecedentedly difficult tasks.

In what lies the newness?

This is determined, in the first place, by the changes connected with the scientific-technical revolution. The characteristic fact of our age is that the further development of human civilization is contingent upon new industrial branches based on modern sciences, which make it possible to accelerate technical progress about which mankind earlier knew nothing, and which not only multiplies society's productive forces many times but also fundamentally changes the conditions and forms of people's lives. One of the most important tasks of restructuring is to eliminate barriers that prevent our country from adapting itself to this new situation, from joining the progressive current, and thus from ensuring our socialist society's dynamic development and its prospects. This does not involve only the "technological leap" into the 21st century; what is involved are changes that profoundly affect all spheres of society's life, beginning with the social division of labor and the very nature of work and with the higher degree of its intellectualization.

Scientifically substantiated forecasts show that we must expect new demands on man not only in his work, but also in his free time. In the future much will depend on how he is intellectually equipped to cope with this, on his general education, on his weltanschauung, and on his maturity as a citizen. We must not succumb to illusions: The future will not be devoid of conflicts, risks, and dangers; and social progress and peace, relations among states based on new political thinking, will not assert themselves automatically but can only be asserted by people prepared for new struggles.

The educational system must not only subordinate itself to the envisaged development but must actively stimulate it and in a positive direction. We can rightly say that never before has the educational system been faced with such important and complex tasks as it is at present. The important thing in ensuring the necessary training of the people is no longer only satisfying society's urgent needs, but also getting ahead of the present demands. We must take into consideration the fact that the obsolescence of knowledge, skills, habits, and other components of man's qualifications will accelerate. It will be absolutely necessary for education to gain an edge. At the same time, education of course will have to carefully maintain the basic fund of learning and be capable of handing it down to new generations. Already today there are serious problems in this respect, the source of which are the unprecedented explosion of knowledge and the limited

possibility of projecting it fully and promptly into the content of educational work. The demands in respect to technical discoveries and discoveries in the sphere of natural sciences are also increasing, and at the same time it is necessary to create a wider scope for humanitarian learning and man's cultural growth.

The dissatisfaction with education shows how difficult it is to cope with this situation. If we do not want even more serious complications to occur in the future, we must apply truly new approaches to the training of people as soon as possible. This training must be oriented toward acquiring solid foundations of learning and, at the same time, toward instilling the ability to creatively and promptly assimilate the findings of modern science, techniques, and technology, toward becoming intellectually developed and enriched with values of culture and the arts, and toward assuming responsible civic attitudes which are based on a system of pronounced socialist values.

Education and training for the professions will become increasingly intertwined with productive work, and will continue throughout life. This is the path to overcoming difficulties connected with professional orientation, the choice of profession, and with a young person's joining the work process. The important thing is to create extensive opportunities for the working people to adapt to changing conditions in everyday life, and by doing this, among other things, to also make it easier to solve social problems that might arise in the future.

Mastering the dynamism of social development in training people envisages developing the educational system as an open, flexible, and gradual system, one closely linked with social practice. Establishing an expedient and effectively functioning system of lifelong learning is also an urgent task. This is necessary in the interest of making the work process more efficient, but also in the interest of overcoming problems connected with the possibility of a transfer to a new job, and thus in the interest of strengthening the social security of the working people. The fact that continuous learning will become the inner need of man, a necessary part of his life, must also be taken into consideration.

When we say that education must have an edge, this presumes being cognizant in time, being able to forecast the developments in and the needs of education, as well as the working people's structure of qualifications in our society—and also in view of the international division of labor. In order to achieve a more dynamic increase in the level of knowledge, and mainly in quality, it is necessary to create material and cadre prerequisites. Fears of having excess qualified cadres, especially cadres with university-level educations, are unfounded. The changes that we institute in education today will become apparent in 10, 20, and even 30 years. We must not allow ourselves to be confused by the existing situation, which is characterized by a grave nonappreciation of the benefits of a qualified labor force. This is the result of

extensive development, which we must overcome. In the coming decades new technologies and professions will come into effect, and man's attitude toward production will change substantially. In addition to the changes in the content of work in the traditional professions, new professions which make high demands of qualified intellectual work will come into existence around the innovative focuses connected with the development of data processing, biotechnologies, and other important technological disciplines. Also, the services sector will experience an upsurge, especially the sectors catering to people's social, health, and cultural needs.

Prognoses reveal that complete [upline] secondary schools and higher institutes of education will play a dominant role when it comes to ensuring a new, higher standard of the working people's structure of qualifications. It will also be necessary to address proposals aimed at establishing nontraditional forms of secondary school- and university-level education. However, it is necessary to realize that the planning for the needs of qualified cadres in our country does not thus far correspond to the progressive trends that are being asserted in the advanced countries. Changes in this respect are inevitable and should show up as early as in the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

At the 17th CPCZ Congress we adopted the task to increase by 50 percent the number of personnel with university-level or complete secondary-school educations through the year 2000. However, we are not in a particular hurry to realize this intention—we could say that if we continue to proceed as we have to date, then we will hardly realize the goal. We are convinced that a consistent transition from the economy's extensive development to intensive development will create conditions for achieving that goal.

The overall results that we have achieved in the course of socialist construction in education provide a solid basis for coping with the tasks facing our educational system. When critically assessing the work of education, an assessment which is especially necessary today, we cannot ignore the successes it has achieved since February 1948. These successes are demonstrated by an unprecedented growth of knowledge and the cultural standard of our nations and nationalities. The implementation of the party's educational policy has created conditions for making solid, medium-level education available to the entire population. The rapid growth of the network of institutes of higher education resulted in a substantial increase of people with university-level educations. Only now does our society realize the ideas of our great educator Jan Amos Comenius, whose 400th birth anniversary in 1992 we will celebrate in a dignified manner with the progressive world public. It applies, and will apply, that education must be a workshop of humanness, a place in which the value of every person is affirmed, where prerequisites are established for his

harmonious physical and intellectual development, and where he is inculcated with diligence, love for the fatherland, and the most noble human ideals.

Socialist education is linked with this; this is its fundamental objective. Its origin and development are some of the greatest CPCZ successes connected with the efforts of people such as Klement Gottwald and Zdenek Nejedly. Even though the principles from which our educational system proceeds have been more than once distorted in practice (particularly by the noncomprehension or the deformation of the idea of unified education), the fact that our educational system offers every individual the opportunity to fully develop his talents and abilities remains a great achievement. The important advantage of our educational system is that modern science concerning man and society and the objective laws governing their development—Marxism-Leninism—have become the weltanschauung foundation for the work of schools. Our school organically combines the wealth of the cultural heritage of the Czechoslovak people with Marxism-Leninism. It has firm ties with the Czechoslovak people's life and work. By training qualified cadres for all fields of social activity, the sphere of education heavily participated in the construction of socialist society, socialist industry and agriculture, and science and culture. It is difficult to imagine the socialist changes in our society without it.

Nonimplemented and Ill-Conceived Plans

It is not our intention today to review the history of our educational system and assess its reforms. Of course, the one thing we cannot overlook is the Project of the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System, which was adopted in 1976. Important changes were based on it, changes that—with certain corrections—are being completed today. The purpose of these changes, the necessity of which was substantiated by the CPCZ Central Committee session in July 1973, was to react to the increasing influence of scientific-technical progress in preparing the young, and to modernize the content of tuition and of forms and methods of educational work. A compulsory 10-year secondary-school education was introduced. The purpose of the project was also to make the training of young people for workers' professions equal to the remainder of secondary-school education.

The realization of the project, as the discussion on the analysis of the Czechoslovak educational system affirmed, did not fully correspond with the original ideas, and it is viewed ambivalently by both the public and educators. We must openly say that from the start the realization of the project has met with serious obstacles, which resulted in good intentions not being implemented in practice as envisaged. This was prevented, above all, by the extensive development of the economy, and by the fact that developments in society did not follow the course envisaged by the project. This was also prevented by schools being inadequately

equipped with material needs and cadres, by directive-administrative management, by the orientation toward quantitative results, and by the tendency to be satisfied with mediocre results.

Also, little was done for the goals of the project to be correctly comprehended in schools and adopted by teaching staffs; little was done for the public, and especially parents, to identify themselves with them and support them. It is no secret that during the realization of the project quite a number of critical recommendations were received, and the fact that the Ministry of Education and school administrators did not react properly to them was a mistake.

Nor was it only the noncomprehension of the project's goals. As life revealed, from the very start considerable problems have been rooted in the document itself. Not everything in it was correctly conceived. The greatest difficulties are caused by students' advancing from primary to secondary schools. Many particularly critical and, on the whole, justified recommendations have been voiced on the subject of the training of young people for workers' professions. Despite the project's proclamations, the educational role of schools has been weakened, and a teacher's individual approach to pupils and students has been insufficiently implemented. However, this is no coincidence; this deformation has been caused by the violation of the unity of the upbringing and educational activity of the school, and by the incorrect perception that connects them mechanically and which, when there is a disproportionate amount to learn, does not leave sufficient room for the educators' upbringing activities.

Another serious shortcoming is the disruption of education's work by various activities which have nothing in common with its duties. In order for education to responsibly fulfill its mission, its work must be exclusively oriented toward implementing its own tasks and toward the preparation of pupils and students, which guarantees a high standard of their knowledge, qualifications, and education. In education it is necessary to appreciate the time factor as the key prerequisite for the successful functioning of the educational system, and to ensure a smooth linkage between individual types of schools.

The demands that were raised in the debate that schools should better prepare pupils and students for life, and that they should be adequately equipped for this purpose, must be given clear support.

The restructuring of our society and its democratization and further comprehensive development require a marked modernization of the instruction and education of pupils and students at school; they require that young people be prepared for their future tasks as responsibly as possible and in harmony with the new requirements of social development. Therefore, education must overcome the one-sided orientation toward the accumulation of knowledge and information, exert an influence on the

development of the child's and the young person's personality and on shaping his required character traits, and especially cultivate in the young person the ability to learn, to assimilate knowledge, to think logically, and to develop his talents. Enhancing the effectiveness of the influence of collectives of pedagogues and improving the forms and methods of their work—as the present times but also pedagogic science, which formulates these demands, emphatically require—means organically combining instructional and general educational activity, ridding oneself of the anachronistic concept of an encyclopedic education which, despite being condemned, lingers on and is being broadly applied, and combining an orientation toward knowledge of the world with an orientation toward knowledge of man, with regard to skills and the development of creative abilities, thereby permitting the ability to adapt to new situations.

For this to happen it is necessary to change in principle the supervision of schools by ministries and national committees, rid the managements of schools and the collectives of pedagogues of bureaucratic and incompetent intervention, broadly apply democratic forms of management and self-management, and establish conditions for the creativity, activity, independence, and responsibility of teachers, pupils, and students.

The aforesaid demonstrates that the implementation of the party's school policy must focus first and foremost on a closer linkage between the school's work and the needs of society, on harnessing the gifts and talents of children and young people, and on developing their abilities in the interest of the optimal self-assertion of school graduates in life for the benefit of society and for their own personal contentment and happiness.

In the new conditions of management, the social demand for specialized cadres will be subjected to new criteria. Reconciling oneself with mediocrity and with superficial general knowledge is not acceptable. Even today it is necessary that practice—that is, individual sectors—help to formulate the demands concerning the profile of graduates of courses of studies and vocational courses, so that the Ministries of Education, Youth, and Physical Training, in cooperation with national committees and schools, can adapt the professional training of young people to the new requirements. In view of the need to achieve new quality in economic growth and to implement major social changes on the basis of national economic intensification, this is currently an extraordinarily urgent task. It can be tackled only by way of cooperation between schools and all responsible organs concerned with practice.

We will continue to pursue the road of having a unified, work-oriented, polytechnical school, which will be attended by all children and youth. However, it is necessary to overcome the simplified and incorrect understanding that is projected in the demands on school in connection with this basic characterization. For example, a

unified school does not mean uniformity and down-leveling. The aim is to give every pupil the same chance to obtain the highest possible education, corresponding to his abilities, interests, and the needs of society. Not only does this not rule out, it presupposes the development of the special individual talents of pupils and differentiated instruction. The discovery and nurturing of talent is our paramount duty. Neglect of this duty costs us dear, economically as well as politically. Let us mention yet again the contemporary pace of research and development. It does not offer us much time for a second chance. If we take, for instance, the speed of innovation cycles in the most sophisticated categories of equipment, such as computers (which have a life span of 3 to 5 years), we will see that specialists' knowledge becomes 50-percent outdated every 5 years. This means that the preparation of top-level specialists must be approached not only with a sufficient lead time, but also quickly enough. Discussions about whether concentration on talent might not take us back to the overcome concept of the "elite school" are absurd and misleading. By paying heed to gifted pupils and students and by preparing future highly qualified experts for all walks of social life, school does not harm and does not discriminate against others. Nor does this constitute a call for the cultivation of some chosen few and of prima donnas with disproportionate demands. The democratic spirit of the school system is precious precisely because it permits the broadest possible selection of talents and the best possible care of them so that genuine personalities—outstanding scientists, organizers, artists, and fighters for progress, with whom socialism is inseparably linked—can grow out of them.

Demand for the Unity of Instruction and Education

It is also for this reason that, in the process of the further development of socialist education, we must pay far greater attention to the unity of instruction and education. We noted this need even at the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee last October. As we mentioned at that time, there are many shortcomings in the educational influence of schools on the younger generation. Schools have so far been more successful in meeting their instructional targets than in meeting their educational targets. Education for work and study is inadequately developed, and aesthetic, emotional, and ethical education does not go hand in hand with intellectual education.

We are alarmed by formalism. If the methods of educational influence are not adequate for the level of the pupils' and students' maturity and experience, then they are ineffective. They can even call forth undesirable reactions in places where teachers do not try to understand the young person, do not understand his views and sentiments, ignore his interests, and do not teach but rather lecture, regarding him as the mere object of education. In such cases it is hardly possible, in fact, to speak of education. The pupil or student does not trust the teacher and does not take his words seriously.

The crucial issue in education is how schools will succeed in shaping the young generation's attitude toward both physical and intellectual work. In the young generation education must foster respect for values that are the product of work and guide young people so as to intensify their craving for education, for profound and permanent knowledge and skills, and so that they do not content themselves with superficiality and mediocrity. Let us not forget, however, that work-oriented education must be linked with moral and world-outlook education, with education toward socialist patriotism and internationalism. Only in the sum total of these influences can a young person comprehend the humanistic essence of socialism and the purpose of party policy and become convinced of the viability and validity of socialist ideals. Only on the basis of pride in the results of one's own work, with which everyone builds on the work of the previous generations, do civic awareness and genuine patriotism—patriotism that manifests itself in deeds—evolve in the determination to contribute one's constructive share to the building of the socialist homeland and to safeguarding its peaceful future.

The school's educational function perceived in this way must not be confined to the instruction of social sciences and Marxism-Leninism. It is a matter for the pedagogues' overall influence, irrespective of the subject they teach. The social sciences do, of course, play their specific role in the education of a young person. As a result of the weakening of their educational role in recent years and of their being overloaded with study material, they do not properly discharge this specific duty. The criticism concerning virtually all types of schools, starting with the upper primary school, is justified in this respect. It is necessary to examine in principle the concepts for the teaching of civics, history, the mother tongue and literature, and arts and music, and to increase their importance in the preparation of pupils and students for practical life in the socialist society, for the fulfillment of their future duties as citizens. We must also approach sexual education in a completely new and nontraditional fashion, as well as education for an orderly family life. It is high time that we stopped underrating the importance of this education.

The curriculums, teaching programs, and textbooks of these subjects require special attention. Steps toward their revision have already been taken. This is exceedingly responsible work which must not only be left to a limited circle of people, to those who burn with one-sided enthusiasm for their subject and who do not understand the need for cooperation among disciplines, theorists and seasoned practitioners, the need for integration, and for informal ties with extramural activities.

Let us look, for instance, at the teaching of history. It is sufficient to take a cursory look at textbooks at grammar and secondary schools. With a few rare exceptions, they completely ignore these requirements. They are literally oversaturated with facts that can only burden one's memory, while the most valuable thing—the lesson

drawn from history—is presented mechanically, inorganically, and unconvincingly, and is declared rather than being deduced from historical reality. Teaching that relies on aids such as these does nothing to win the young person over to the study of his country's history and, instead of stirring up the necessary interest in it, rather puts a damper on it. If, moreover, the teaching of history is not linked to regular visits to museums and memorable places, with discussions with various figures, and so forth, then it can hardly fulfill its educational mission, which is to cultivate in the child and in the young person a patriotic awareness, an understanding of the magnitude of the struggles of previous generations whose baton is to be assumed by the up-and-coming generation.

Civics classes, too, have no appeal for many pupils due to an incorrect methodological approach. Quite a number of teachers present civics as dogmatically treated political education, which pupils cannot understand. Yet it is precisely the teaching of civics that offers great educational potential: to enshrine truly civic virtues within the young person, to interest him in public affairs, and to guide him toward an understanding of his own place in socialist society and an identification with its values.

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism plays a significant role in the training of university students. This task was entrusted to the institutes of Marxism-Leninism, which were built in the early seventies. They also discharge important tasks in political-educational work among students and teachers. There should be no doubt about their standing, for they are an integral part of the institutions of higher learning.

However, they gain their authority, first and foremost, by the standard of their work. And here problems exist. Many students have a superficial knowledge of Marxism-Leninism; they approach it as merely one of many subjects they have to study and are not internally attached to it in any way. The institutes of Marxism-Leninism must be endowed with cadres of better quality, with cadres who are capable of elucidating our revolutionary doctrine as a methodological foundation that is organically linked with students' professional work and without which modern thinking, based on the assimilation of the laws of materialistic dialectics and the intellectual legacy of the authors of scientific socialism, is impossible.

We place particular emphasis on this in the period of social restructuring. Marxism-Leninism must be approached as a creative and continuously evolving theory that is indispensable for a correct orientation in life and for successful creative activity.

In the present period, which is marked by the reassessment of hitherto valid concepts and ideas concerning the past and the present, and in which the solution to the key questions of socialism and its prospects is sought, we expect the institutes of Marxism-Leninism to contribute in a major way toward giving university students a good understanding of the policy that our party implements,

toward their identification with this policy, and toward their assuming the clear ideological and political stand of active support for this policy.

It is appropriate to thoroughly examine the work of the institutes and their teaching programs and curricula from the viewpoint of the new needs, to set right what needs to be corrected, to promote students' interest in the study of the revolutionary theory, and to make its teaching an inseparable part of the work of all specialized departments at universities and in their faculties.

Aesthetic education leaves much to be desired. We know that an impact on man's reason cannot be divorced from emotional experiences. "Without human emotions," V.I. Lenin once wrote, "man did not, does not, and cannot seek the truth." Of course, emotions need to be cultivated simultaneously with the development of young people's aesthetic perception and emotional involvement. We must realize that, if this is not the case, the young personality can be jeopardized by the one-sided rationality of today's overtechnicalized world, technocratic pragmatism, and down-to-earth consumer mentality. The school must provide deeper foundations for the understanding of art and for the aesthetic perception and experience of reality; it must stir up and cultivate in the child and in the young person a sense of the beautiful, of harmony, and of noble values, and fix in him a positive attitude toward life and nature.

If perceived in such a broad manner, aesthetic education is also a prerequisite for shaping ecological thinking. At the same time, it is one of the crucial conditions for emotional education—which is currently so neglected—an important integrating factor for shaping young people's attitudes toward society, toward the environment in which they work and live and, above all, a source of inspiration for active participation in the transformation of this environment.

This is education's formidable responsibility. An improvement requires the adoption of effective measures by the Ministries of Education, Youth, and Physical Training, and at the same time the extension of significant assistance to schools by the arts unions, the artistic and cultural front, and the whole of society. We stress that all of education's efforts toward aesthetic education would be in vain or would have a considerably weakened effect if no change occurs in the attitude toward the material culture, if society as a whole does not ensure a high standard of the environment and does not genuinely and fully appreciate the wide-ranging aesthetic needs of man, needs that find their expression in demands on hygiene and order at workplaces, in transportation, in cities, and in the public environment in general. Only then will the culture of work and of the environment become manifested in the quality of products, in which design and aesthetic standards are inseparable criteria. All of this has a direct influence on the refinement of a young person's taste. It is a grievous fact that we have greatly neglected many of these values—

values in which we have a rich tradition on which we were able to build in the past, with respect to the art of design, for instance—which will now be difficult to regain.

We consider physical education to be an extraordinarily important part of the educational system. It is our paramount concern that active physical and sports activity should become an inseparable part of life for the entire younger generation. At school this concept of physical education as an important constituent part of the harmonious development of the personality is insufficiently implemented. As pedagogues, psychologists, and physicians recommend, the children's regime at school and out of school needs to be changed by thoughtfully alternating schoolwork and active relaxation and by including in this regime physical exercises and, more often than is now the case, also a stay in the countryside. In school and out of school there should be more time for active physical education and sports. We should seriously examine why, even for many physically talented children, physical education is not a popular subject. For many years now the schools have been criticizing the demanding grading of physical education. However, no conclusions from this criticism have been drawn to date.

Shortcomings in the education of children and youth are widely referred to today. However, if this criticism is directed at schools alone, it is unjust. Not only the school but, first and foremost, the family, the environment in which one lives, the media, and the society as a whole play their part in shaping the awareness and attitudes of the younger generation. Responsibility for the education of young people cannot be delegated to the teacher alone, even though his role in education is exceptional. It is not easy for a teacher to win and strengthen his authority and, by the same token, his influence on a young person who is subjected to the influence of contradictory realities and conflicting pieces of information, which sometimes run counter to the declared principles and values which school is trying to inculcate in him. The teacher must, however, be prepared to face such situations, and he must react in due time and have a preventative influence on pupils and students. In this respect, the subject in which he is qualified is irrelevant, as is the level or type of school at which he teaches. With his attitude and by his personal example he collects around himself a group of people of the same outlook and common ideas and interests. In this collective, the pedagogue and the pupil meet as two personalities who through their mutual cooperation can move closer to one another and understand and influence one another. This is the sort of school that we need, for such a school can rightly be given the attribute "socialist."

We usually speak about schools in general terms. We must realize, however, that each level and type of school has its own specific features and problems.

On Kindergarten

As is known, kindergartens have undergone a major change over the last 2 decades. Thanks to the contribution of society as a whole, their capacities have expanded

so that nowadays almost 95 percent of all children between the ages of 3 and 6 attend them. True, the care of these children is reflected by formidable outlays: Each child attending kindergarten costs Kcs4,721 a year. The costs incurred by parents are quite negligible.

What is important is that this increase is also positively reflected in the children's preparedness for compulsory primary-school attendance. This is made possible, *inter alia*, by the sufficient number of qualified kindergarten teachers in the whole Republic. This does not mean, however, that teacher training schools should relax their efforts. It is necessary to improve the training standards of these schools' graduates for educational work with children, particularly for musical, arts and crafts, and physical education. Cooperation between kindergartens and parents also needs to be improved. The changes taking place in society often have a very disturbing effect on children of even preschool age—for example, if such a child watches television programs for adults, which is a normal occurrence. The increase in the number of broken and single-parent families represents a big problem. Kindergartens certainly cannot offset the loss of one's mother, but they can act as a counterweight to various harmful influences and prevent at least some of them. The promotion of emotionality, expressions of kindness, and an attentive attitude toward the child, giving broad latitude for the spontaneous development of his predilections—all these are important for establishing the child's positive attitude toward life, which is essential for his future identification with the social order.

Although our enterprises, plants, and cooperatives have played a significant role in providing material prerequisites for the establishment and functioning of kindergartens, some of them are now starting to "economize" particularly in this sphere. Certain enterprises and cooperatives in 57 districts of the CSSR have already refused to continue operating their kindergartens. The female staffs of kindergartens under the management of unified cooperative farms and socialist organizations are currently being transferred to work under national committee administrations. Such practices are creating an unfavorable situation, and our state agencies must proceed to resolve it either by appropriately increasing the budgets of national committees, or by establishing appropriate economic conditions to enable the enterprises and cooperatives to continue their former initiatives and activities in this sphere.

Primary Schools

As for primary schools, most criticism is focused on their second, higher level. The assessment of changes affecting the first, lower level which were carried out in line with the 1976 project was on the whole positive. However, despite the changes in the school curriculum and textbooks in recent years, we hear complaints about some subjects and the approach to these subjects at this level, and even about the intolerable demands put on children

of that age. The children's transition from the world of play to that of learning and systematic work is often accompanied by unnecessarily stressful situations.

It is unbelievable, but the lower level of primary schools is often regarded as an institution meant to take care of children while their parents are at work; evidently people have not yet grasped that this is an extremely important educational workplace which shapes the foundations of knowledge and of the value orientations of our future citizens. We cannot afford to have classrooms almost bursting with pupils, or teachers with inferior qualifications. But you know that things are totally different in practice. Yet it is intolerable to continue in this way—this must be realized particularly by the district national committees, which are "solving" their long-term shortage of qualified female teachers for the lower-level primary schools by accepting secondary-school graduates, who have not been trained for this and, moreover, who often change jobs.

The higher level of primary schools suffers from an excessive range of subject matter and from the inordinately demanding contents of certain subjects. The textbooks for primary schools have a total of 15,033 pages—one of our institutes has counted them. Taking into account that they are not read like adventure stories or novels and that students are required to memorize their contents, they should rather be used for lifelong education. As it is, the results are as can be expected: Contrary to what we wish, the pupils are overworked and many react correspondingly—learning becomes a matter of indifference to them and they look forward to the time when they can leave school and kick its dust off their feet. If we add to this the large number of pupils per classroom, the overworked teachers, and the shortage of material and financial means, we can easily see why our primary schools can cope with the exacting tasks set for them by society only with the greatest difficulty, and we can also see why it has proved impossible to carry out the intentions of the 1976 project, which sought to make tuition more differentiated.

The task of altering this unfavorable situation and of shaping qualitatively good foundations for knowledge, skills, and habits at this level of primary schools is so important that the Ministries of Education, Youth, and Physical Training must immediately start dealing with it. They must fully rely in this on the stands of our pedagogues, scientists, and the general public, and also make use of experiences in other countries.

The liquidation of schools with only a few classes is also being criticized. Many villages have apparently closed them down without due consideration, explaining their actions primarily by the need to economize. Wherever such practices are still indulged in, they must immediately cease, because as a rule, they have a negative political impact. At the same time, it is essential that the appropriate national committees examine the situation and rectify whatever mistakes have been made.

Secondary Education

The introduction of compulsory secondary education has been generally received quite positively. Still, the discussion on this topic has on the whole confirmed that the organization of compulsory 10-year school attendance within the three-stream system of secondary schools—secondary apprentices' and vocational schools and grammar schools—is accompanied by very complicated problems.

Considerable problems are caused by the fact that the pupils entering secondary apprentice schools from primary schools are much too young; the problems worsen because the students leave their parents prematurely to go and live as boarders in the most problematic period of their development. The predicament continues even when the graduates of these schools begin their first jobs: Because they are under 18, i.e. the age prescribed by law, they cannot fully carry out the job they have been trained for. The choice of a vocation at the age of 14, and practically even sooner, is considered premature. The problem of sufficient places in vocational and study fields suitable for girls also has not yet been resolved on a long-term basis. This situation is becoming intolerable for many families, for parents, and for girls. In quite a few instances it is accompanied by dramatic conflicts with state agencies. The existing command methods of assigning some girls particularly to engineering professions has proven to be of scant use both for the appropriate branch and for the girls themselves. The way out of this is apparent: We must create a new kind of secondary school, one oriented toward services, etc.

The transition to secondary vocational schools and grammar schools is also not without its problems. Views on how to solve them diverge. Some people strictly advise reverting to the 9-year primary school, while others would like to revive it at least for those who are to enter apprentice schools, and still others demand that the present system of compulsory 9-year school attendance remain but that pupils be transferred from primary schools in a more differentiated way, bearing in mind their individual characteristics and general development. Other proposals are aimed at creating a uniform 10-year general-education school. What should be our preference? We believe that today it is still premature to consider this problem closed, for it is a cardinal issue of our educational and upbringing system and must be examined most responsibly. It is obvious that the long-term solution must lie in a uniform 10-year, secondary general-education polytechnical school with expedient internal differentiation. It will be impossible to establish corresponding conditions for this strategic plan—a differentiated transfer of pupils from primary to secondary schools, particularly to secondary apprentice schools—in a short time. The appropriate state agencies should consider all this and decide in harmony with the needs of our society.

Apprentice Schools

As for the secondary apprentice schools, it is essential to adopt a stand at least on three problems: their further orientation, their management and financing, and their upbringing tasks.

The first and primary task of these institutions is undoubtedly to effectively train young people for their vocation. The main concern is to provide them with the practical skills required by their future profession and to teach them how to improve these skills. Although certain measures have been adopted in this direction, it is essential that the Ministries of Education, Youth, and Physical Training, together with the appropriate branches, again deal with this problem. However, on no account may we diminish the responsibility of secondary apprentice schools for shaping the pupils' personalities as citizens of our socialist society. They should receive a reliable foundation of general knowledge and a certain cultural outlook. They should combine their pride in their well-mastered profession with pride in belonging to the workers class. It is both shortsighted and imprudent to consider apprentice schools as merely places for training manpower and releasing them from their duty of preparing future members of the workers class.

Teachers, vocational instructors, and tutors must proceed from this. The shortcomings in providing the required number of qualified, effective vocational instructors and tutors are generally known—they have been pointed out for many years. It is truly high time to deal with this problem and to begin solving it by improving the remuneration and social status of instructors and tutors.

In connection with the establishment of state enterprises, it will be necessary to definitely resolve matters related to the structure, management, and financing of apprentice schools. No one can be freed of responsibility, neither ministerial departments and state enterprises nor the state administration and national committees. Side by side with large apprentice schools attached to large enterprises, we should also set up smaller ones attached to smaller enterprises. Moreover, we should also obviously set up apprentice schools for the combined training of young people in several professions, for the needs of several enterprises; these schools should be directly administered by the school administration, which should be granted considerable authority and power to influence all the main activities of apprentice schools, the selection of their senior cadres, and the definition of principles governing the contents and methods of tuition. Of course, this must be done in cooperation with the enterprises, and while bearing in mind their justified needs. Appropriate government agencies must also adjust the economic provisions for apprentice schools so that none of them suffers from the poor economic performance of the state enterprise on which it depends.

And, finally, the third issue—upbringing work in apprentice schools. The methodology of the entire educational process in these institutions must emphasize the outstanding role of vocational instructors both in professional training and in the upbringing of young people. This deplorably is often neglected in the belief that it is the exclusive concern of the tutors. It is also important to establish favorable conditions for the effective use of pupils' free time in apprentice schools. Individual schools differ greatly in this. Schools that make prudent use of this free time, that hold regular athletic competitions, develop tourism, take trips to the countryside, etc., do not have as many so-called upbringing-related problems as do other schools, which find them to be a considerable headache.

The secondary vocational schools are the least criticized. However, even here it will be necessary to tighten professional training and to improve practical tuition which enables the pupils to master the more demanding intellectual skills. Scientific-technical progress demands that individual ministerial branches and state enterprises contribute far more than they have to date to the overall development of secondary vocational schools, the rational adjustment of the fields of their work, and the improvement in the graduates' profiles.

Grammar Schools

According to the new understanding, grammar-school studies should prepare pupils for university studies, but also for work straight from school. However, we have failed to accomplish this task at the appropriate level. The question why we have failed will have to be answered after a thorough analysis. It is obvious that the conflicting tendencies that clashed when we were defining the profile and mission of grammar schools have social foundations. It is impossible to tolerate any longer the persistent lack of a clear idea of what the purpose of grammar schools should be. We must finally set them up as internally differentiated general-education schools and, above all, improve graduates' training for the various fields of university studies. In schools with a greater emphasis on a liberal arts education, it will be expedient to reintroduce certain subjects, the absence of which makes the work of university-level schools most difficult from the very first study year. This applies, for instance, to Latin, but also to descriptive geometry. The envisaged changes in the grammar-school profile should enhance the boys' interest in studies and increase the number of grammar-school graduates.

Our state devotes considerable attention to schools for young people who require special care. We must continue to follow this line and strive to provide a place for every pupil needing such care, for this is important to his personal fulfillment in life. At the same time we will have to verify through experiments other methods of care for these young people, methods that in other countries are yielding better results from the point of view of their social adjustment and assertion in practical life.

Out-of-School Education

It is also necessary to speak of institutions dealing with extracurricular and extramural education. In fact, the system of such education, although relatively well developed, has recently begun to stagnate because of a lack of financial and material resources. Day-care centers and young people's clubs are gradually disappearing, and conditions for special-interest activities in youth hostels, student dormitories, and other educational facilities are deteriorating. This logically increases the opportunities for "street influence" on the young people's value orientation. The appropriate agencies and organizations should not remain passive toward these unfavorable trends. We must improve conditions for developing activities in extracurricular and extramural facilities. This is primarily a matter concerning our national committees.

Our schools for national minorities are part and parcel of the Czechoslovak educational and upbringing system. The pupils of these schools acquire knowledge and skills in all subjects of the curriculum so that they can successfully find their place in all sectors of society's life. All national-minority schools take care to acquaint their pupils with Czechoslovakia's history and present, in close linkage with the social and cultural life of the communities and regions where they live. Conditions have been created for the pupils of primary national-minority schools to master the Czech or Slovak language as the unifying means of communication throughout the state. This is an essential prerequisite of attending secondary or university-level schools and successfully finding one's place in practical life.

Raising honest people and CSSR citizens with full rights, proud of their language and of the culture and traditions of their nation or nationality, and convinced of their own share of responsibility for the life and development of our entire society, is the task to which we must devote particular attention. The state's school-administration agencies must continue creating favorable conditions for the work of national-minority schools. It is also essential to provide adequate training to the teachers of these schools.

We must strive everywhere to provide pupils of every nationality with the kind of training that would enable them in the future to vigorously join the political, economic, and cultural life of our entire society, for this will contribute toward a better understanding and closer rapprochement of our nations and nationalities and help consolidate the unity of our people and the awareness of our belonging to a common socialist fatherland.

Art Schools

Art schools hold a special place in our educational structure. It can be said that they traditionally are the most popular schools in our country. However, in certain fields the interest in attending them greatly exceeds their openings. Therefore, it is all the more difficult to make sure that everybody whose talent merits it really can

attend such a school, regardless of the social environment from which he comes. Our state is investing considerable means in developing our art-school system. Nevertheless, it is becoming evident—and this is increasingly being remarked upon—that this is not sufficient in view of the growing needs. Moreover, quite a few things have been neglected here in the past. We have already mentioned how the demands linked with the development of culture have been ignored. The hinterland for the selection of musical talent is becoming narrower, compared with international developments, and it is becoming a matter of increasing concern. A serious lack of teachers for our folk-art schools, who are increasingly vanishing, and other negative phenomena openly discussed by the communications media, and frequently pointed out by the artists unions, testify to certain unfavorable trends; we must not reconcile ourselves to them. It is essential for all the involved parties—the school and cultural departments and the representatives of artists unions and other organizations—to jointly deal with the situation and to work out a concept for the further development of the CSSR's art-school system, one that would correspond both to the aims and principles of the party's policy in the sphere of culture and the arts and to the new needs of the individual art sectors. The appropriate collectives have already prepared proposals on how to proceed in this sphere; we must merely start seriously discussing them and have involved in this work everybody demonstrating interest in it and concerned about making the Czechoslovak art-school system the best in the world. And we do have prerequisites for this.

Language Tuition

One of the problems that our school system recently had to deal with is, last but not least, language tuition. The discussion of the document "Analysis of the Czechoslovak Educational and Upbringing System" justly pointed out that our citizens' language-teaching equipment is inadequate. Still, we must not blame only the school for this—for here, too, we notice the unfavorable impact of the extensive approach to language tuition, and outdated methods even in primary schools. It is no coincidence that we increasingly hear that the time devoted to language tuition at school is time wasted for many pupils. If language students lack motivation, then every effort is wasted in advance. On the other hand, we cannot meet the needs of all people interested in studying one of the world's languages—far from it. The network of language schools is inadequate, and we also have a shortage of English teachers. Moreover, we must expand the possibility of improving the knowledge of languages in their natural environment.

In line with the orientation of our foreign policy, our school system is helping to intensify cooperation between states and nations and to consolidate peace and mutual understanding. This cooperation has to do with the training of experts. More than 7,000 foreign students

are currently studying at our secondary and university-level schools, and 700 more students are engaged in research fellowship work. Every year almost 1,000 young people from the developing countries begin their studies in our country. As we ourselves have seen on various occasions, after returning home the absolute majority of them say good things about socialist Czechoslovakia and remain our sincere friends. The money spent on educating foreign students is a good investment.

Our own young people also attend secondary and university-level schools abroad, especially in socialist countries. We must expand the possibilities for such studies and appraise the present situation from the viewpoint of the new needs of our economy, science, and culture.

Institutions of Higher Education

Within the process of building socialism, our institutions of higher learning have been considerably developed. A number of new university-level facilities have been built in all regions. The institutions of higher education have opened their doors to young people from workers and farmers families, significantly contributing to the overall development of our society and of many new branches.

Nevertheless, the restructuring and democratization of our society, the intensification of our national economy, the unpostponable need for changes linked to the scientific-technical revolution, and the essential need to consistently implement the strategy of acceleration in the socioeconomic development of our country and to join the progressive trends determined by the states with the most developed state of industry—all these confront them with a new situation and with far more demanding tasks.

We are quite justified in asking today: Will the institutions of higher education play the role ascribed to them by the coming development—today, and also in the nearest future? Are they prepared for this, and do they possess the conditions demanded by this role?

There can be no doubt that the success or failure of the envisaged development will be primarily determined by society's ability to discover creative potential, to concentrate its means on developing and activating this potential, and to make the best possible use of it in practice. The essential feature of the structural composition of skilled manpower in the most developed countries is the rapidly growing percentage of university-educated experts, a considerable number of whom are working on tasks closely connected with research, development, and construction work. This makes the unprecedented development of university-level education in both traditional and new, nontraditional forms, and the intensification of links between university-level schools and scientific institutions, a dire necessity.

No wonder that dissatisfaction and concern about future prospects are appearing in our university-level workplaces. We can notice this almost in all analyses or long

letters received by the Central Committee in connection with the preparation of the present session from the rectors of our institutions of higher learning. The people working in these institutions realize very well the direction taken by international developments, and that we can scarcely evade it; they are well aware that it will not be easy to react adequately to the demands that this is starting to place on the work of university-level schools, faculties, and department chairs.

The situation has also been complicated by the fact that the "Project for the Further Development of the Education and Upbringing System" adopted in 1976 has been implemented the least at our university-level schools—partly because of the continuing extensive development and inadequate practical implementation of science and technology, due to the conservative and technocratic stands adopted by many members of the economic and planning staff; and partly because of the generally low standards of management at university-level schools, which are marked by strong elements of bureaucracy and incompetent and unskilled meddling in the activities of university-level schools, faculties, and department chairs and in the creative work of the teaching staff. This was further intensified by the new 1980 law for university-level schools, in the elaboration of which university-level workplaces participated only to the minimum extent, and which greatly limited the powers and authority of responsible figures and collectives of these schools.

Contrary to our stated goals, the number of experts with a university education has decreased instead of increasing. The facts are merciless: In 1980 the CSSR had 196,642 university students. Their number gradually decreased, so that in 1986 it had only 164,489. Demographic developments over the next few years should help rectify this situation, but of course everything will depend on whether, and to what extent, we overcome the barriers of bureaucratic approaches to planning the needs for experts with a university education, and to the totally obsolete and greatly criticized procedures for admittance connected with this. Comrades, if we consider the fact that more than 30,000 applicants every year cannot be admitted to university studies, we must realize that this is not merely an act of bureaucracy but rather a serious social problem which even tomorrow could evolve into a sharp political problem. Meanwhile, a solution offers itself: Let the schools decide, for they should be interested in the most talented and in not wasting even one single talented person. Various forms of education for secondary-school graduates could be introduced, as well as, wherever it is expedient, a two-tier university education as is done in other countries. The most objective criteria should be applied to evaluating applicants, and even in secondary schools admittance procedures should cut out bureaucratic complications.

Of course, the decisive thing will be the good education of graduates, not their increasing numbers. We often hear it said that our institutions of higher education produce quite a number of average graduates who do not

have any great interest in or enthusiasm for their profession and who are unwilling to become socially involved, to make an effort to grow further, to continue their education, to follow developments in their profession, or to strive to apply new knowledge. This is a well-known fact. However, we must consider the causes of this situation and radically change them as quickly as possible. Of course, the prerequisite here is—as was already stated—to improve the working standards of secondary schools and of the university teaching staff; to appropriately equip schools with modern teaching devices; and to provide them with substantially better possibilities for international competition. This means constant contacts with those at the top, but also perfect information. Last but not least, this also presumes that management standards will be such as to stimulate creativity instead of putting a damper on it; that they will strengthen the responsibility of academics holding various functions, and of collectives at university-level schools, instead of restricting or reducing it; ward off formalism and alibi-seeking, and the unwillingness to take risks and to search for new ways of developing individual fields; and promote new teaching methods.

The conclusions drawn from discussions confirm that the basis of improving work at university-level schools is the tight linkage of teaching activities with scientific research and social, primarily production, practices. The demand for integrating university-level schools with science and production practices is a longstanding one. It is high time to start fulfilling it by improving relations between university-level schools and the institutions attached to the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences; by intensifying cooperation between the workplaces of academies and university-level schools in working out the tasks set by practice; by improving the coordination of this work and ridding it of squabbles over prestige which cover up departmental or group interests promoted by individuals; and, most important of all, by strengthening and setting up a corresponding material, apparatus, and implementation base at university-level schools.

This orientation of work carried out by our institutions of higher education will also lead to the establishment of necessary conditions for active forms of study and a broader involvement of talented students in the solution of specific research and production tasks. This is exactly the direction that should be decisive in the work of university-level schools. It is the needs of life, of industry, and of general social practice that are decisive—not the organization of easy access to what are often underserved scientific and educational ranks and titles.

The time that can be used for study, and for verifying whether the acquired knowledge can be applied in practice, is understandably of immense significance for improving the quality of work at university-level schools. The curtailing of studies from 5 to 4 years is being sharply criticized wherever this has been implemented and not phased out. It is considered one of the

main causes of the lower tuition standards. Of course, it must be said that the adjustment of the period of study was counting on the elimination of various unnecessary school duties; however, it seems that these have even increased. Furthermore, we expected the program of postgraduate studies to take root, but this has practically not happened.

Many difficulties with which practical life and institutions of higher education grapple today are to a considerable extent caused by the fact that to this day, there does not exist a cohesive and flexible system of postgraduate studies. The further development of university-educated cadres' qualifications in social practice is hampered by this, which has an adverse impact on, above all, the spheres of production management, research and development, and many other activities. The institutions of higher learning themselves also suffer from this, because they are in fact being deprived of the possibility of reacting with the necessary speed of response to the requirements of practical life in the present-day conditions of rapid socioeconomic development. We have taken the first steps to set this right by introducing courses for senior managerial cadres at the Economics College in Prague and for technical staff at the Czech College of Technology. Such courses are also planned at the Economics College in Bratislava.

The democratization of social life will also undoubtedly find its expression in the activity of the institutions of higher learning. They must be given broader latitude for independent and creative decisionmaking on all questions concerning their life and work. Reinforcing the powers and responsibilities of academic functionaries, department heads, and scientific and arts councils will make it possible to react in a qualified manner and more flexibly to the needs of theory and practice and to improve the quality of instruction and of students' education.

The process of democratization at the institutions of higher education is indispensable, and we will support it. Only in this way can we create an atmosphere that is conducive to creative work at the institutions of higher education and to their further development. We are convinced that the amendment to the university law, now in preparation, will also contribute to this. The draft principles of this amendment, which were submitted to the institutions of higher education and to the public for discussion, proceed, above all, from the necessity of creating scope for independent decisionmaking by the institutions of higher education and for the democratization of their internal life. We expect the Federal Assembly to approve the amendment to this law in 1990. Therefore, there is time for it to be thoroughly examined.

Problems at the institutions of higher education that need to be dealt with without delay are legion. This is also one of the reasons why the call can again be heard from many places for the establishment of a statewide committee for them. It is being argued that this would

help build a democratic, self-managed, and yet professionally guaranteed system of Czechoslovak university-level schools. This is a suggestion that should be seriously considered.

As we have already stated, our education system will evolve further in the direction of the establishment of a cohesive, yet open system of life-long education. It is necessary to build on all tried and tested forms of raising the working people's qualifications, forms that yield positive results in the school system and in a number of sectors. Various forms of special-interest educational activities, provided mainly by social organizations, the mass media, and cultural and adult education institutions and facilities, must not be neglected, either.

We must systematically develop the further education of adults in particular, which will comprise postsecondary schooling and postgraduate studies; research fellowships; qualification and requalification courses of studies, including evening classes and distant-teaching; and the political and professional training of ranking personnel and the reserve pool of cadres. Courses of studies at secondary schools and universities attended while working are also an important way of increasing the educational standards of the population. It is to be expected that in the new conditions of management, not only individuals, but the employing organizations will show greater interest in this form of study as well. Therefore, it will be correct if these organizations defray the costs of these external study courses. They will then select for them employees with the necessary prerequisites for this form of study. The organizations will have to choose employees whom they know will put their education to practical use.

The development of life-long education is provided for not only by the system of state schools, but also by educational establishments that are run by sectors and enterprises and by the educational establishments of the governments and national committees, the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences, the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society, and the Socialist Academy. We want to further develop all these forms of study, and will support them.

Improving Management, Eliminating Unnecessary Paperwork

The debate that preceded today's session confirmed that in spite of a number of measures that were taken by the governments, the ministries of education, and national committees in the past years, no improvement of principle in the management of the schools has occurred. The methods of the schools' management employed by national committees and the ministries of education and the quality of the inspectors' activity continue to be the target of the teaching community's and general public's criticism. We have not been successful in eliminating unnecessary paperwork, which puts disproportionate strains on teachers, distracting them from work with pupils

and students. Many reports, returns, and statistics are absolutely useless and have no effect in regard to improving educational work. Nevertheless, one insists that they be filed. The administrative and economic aspects of running the schools also occupy the school managements—especially headmasters—so much that the school's proper activity, pedagogical work, greatly suffers.

The task of the ministries of education, youth, and physical training is not to continually issue instructions and orders, but to deal with the basic conceptual issues of the development of education on the basis of scientifically founded forecasts, analyses, and recommendations, to forecast the basic directions of its development, and take in due time the appropriate cadre and material measures arising from this, and to attend to the drafting of good quality curriculums and the creation of good quality standardized didactic aids. They should render effective assistance to universities and regulate the work of the national committees' school sections. A new situation arises in connection with the changed orientation of the work of the ministries of education, youth, and physical training, a change that has also found its expression in their changed title. Together with all involved bodies and organizations of the National Front, especially with the Socialist Youth Union, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association, as well as with national committees, the ministries must establish the appropriate conditions for the implementation of their new tasks in the care of children and the youth.

In their supervisory activity, national committees must primarily focus on simplifying management and on the provision of effective support for the schools' operation and the conduct of their economic affairs. Inspectors' activity must contribute far more to improving the quality of educational work, especially to raising the general standard of the graduates of all levels and types of schools. The national committees' school sections ought to be endowed with qualified cadres, experienced inspectors and pedagogues. In many cases, formalism in the work of their staff is rooted in their lack of qualifications; they indulge in red tape instead of managing.

The effectiveness of the management of schools is conditional on the material provisions. We must not close our eyes to the unfavorable situation that is evolving in this field. The long-lasting, and in some respects, already intolerable, situation in the schools' material, technical, and financial provisions, in their construction, equipment, and in the maintenance of buildings is becoming a serious problem. The collectives of teachers at many schools point this out. Party and state bodies in virtually all districts and regions are calling for a solution to this state of affairs. We know that it is not feasible to meet all needs at once. It is necessary to take the road of a gradual yet principled solution and to set priorities. This has found its expression in the measures that were adopted by the CSSR Government and the governments of the two republics in connection with the discussion of

conclusions from the "Analysis of the Czechoslovak Educational System." The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium expects that while drafting the Ninth 5-Year Plan, the governments will establish better conditions for the solution of these important problems, in accordance with their policy statements.

We must anticipate that the costs of the development of education will grow in the future. The 5 and 1/2 percent share of national income earmarked for education definitely does not place us among the leading countries in this regard. It is also necessary to deal in principle with the question of how to increase the part played by the economic sphere and other organizations in extending material and technical support for education and to create the necessary incentives for this. It is definitely necessary to overcome narrow-minded economic considerations whereby the means spent on education are included in public consumption. This categorization has no justification from the economic viewpoint. Investments in education and qualifications are among the most effective ones. They concern man as the creator of material and cultural values and the most important factor of production forces and social progress.

The education sector, too, should be more active in exploring the paths toward the more efficient use of the resources at its disposal. For example, the demand can be heard more and more loudly from various places for the reassessment of a system that results in people who are interested in textbooks and various teaching aids not being able to buy them. Providing everything free of charge and providing it to everyone is not the best way of guiding people toward cost consciousness and toward using the values of human labor economically. There are many costly activities whose effectiveness rises justified doubts, while there are no funds left for important things. The extension of some benefits to secondary school and university students needs to be reassessed. From early childhood, everyone without exception must be guided so that he realizes that he is entitled to some benefit only if he deserves it in some way and only after he discharges his duties. Here rests the foundation of economic thinking that conforms with the principles of economic accountability. Today many people, and not only the young, have their problems with this thinking.

The management of education must also ensure that the school's work runs smoothly and is not incompetently disrupted by nonschool agencies, organizations, and institutions. Some functionaries who obviously do not know where their powers begin and end often convene all kinds of conferences and demand that teachers participate in them at a time when they should be teaching, or when they have other and more important tasks; misuse them for tasks that have nothing to do with the school; and force them to submit information, reports, and statements without having any authorization to do so.

We must not forget that the school primarily means the teacher. It has become customary to say, and this should be the case everywhere, that the teacher is the central

figure of the school. Therefore, we must attend to his social prestige, give him the appropriate social status, the most suitable conditions for work, and conditions that will allow him to devote himself fully to teaching and to the education of children and young people, whom society has entrusted to his hands. Hence the teacher can prepare them well for their future profession and life so, that they can grow up to be good specialists and morally firm, politically and culturally mature citizens.

As in the past, even today the successes of our education are associated, first and foremost, with the creative efforts of teachers. Through their dedicated and exceedingly demanding work with children and young people, most of them confirm day by day that they realize their social mission and responsibility for the future of our country. We are not saying this to idealize the existing state of affairs. We do not conceal the fact that far from all pedagogues and educators are like this. All the more do the party and society hold in esteem who, out of dedication to their work, conscientiously discharge their duties, without regard for time and sometimes even for their health, and who approach children and young people with love and attentively. The best of them are rewarded with state awards every year, on the occasion of Teachers Day. This is rightly so; they deserve our full support and the respect of the whole society.

Demands placed on the work of a teacher have always been high, and we can on no account relax them today. The changes which our education must undergo will directly depend on the creative work and initiative of the teacher, on his professional, civic, and moral qualities. Our country has given the world the great teacher of nations—Jan Amos Komensky. We proudly identify with his legacy. However, we must not only identify with it but must, above all, live up to it and establish the necessary conditions for the work of the teacher and the school.

This is not easy, in view of the situation of the school and its present-day needs. A whole set of complex issues is involved here, the solution of which—and this needs to be stressed—will not be cheap. It is, however, necessary to take steps toward this solution; the measures that need to be taken must not be delayed. It is not enough to merely declare the standing of the teacher and his role. His work must also be properly rewarded—and not just morally. It would be shortsighted to count only on the teacher's dedication, on his deep attachment to his profession, and to disregard the real appreciation of his work and the creation of further conditions necessary for the fulfillment of his mission.

We are starting to equip schools with modern technology. We are thinking about the computerization program, about equipping schools with computers. This is a costly affair, involving sums running into billions; however, it is a path that we must not abandon. If school is to prepare the up-and-coming generation to assert itself in the next millennium and is to allow it to acquire the so-called second literacy, then it must pursue this road further and do so

consistently. However, it is becoming apparent that many of the teaching staff are helpless in the face of modern technology, that they themselves are not prepared for its use. Apparently, the strong predominance of women at schools [znacna feminizace skol] also plays a role here. It will be necessary to take measures that will make it possible to overcome this state of affairs.

Science—sociology, psychology, but, in particular, pedagogic theory—occupies an exceptionally important place in improving the activity of teaching staffs. One cannot say that we are short of scientific institutes that deal with the problems of the school, with questions of teaching and education. These workplaces do produce valuable incentives and recommendations, and outstanding figures from the science of pedagogy work in them. What is absent, however, is the proper translation of theoretical findings into practice. The ministries of education, youth, and physical training should deal with this issue and make better use of the scientific potential of which our society avails itself; in doing so, they should confront research results with the experiences of the best teaching staff operating in practical life. Only in this way will it be possible to eliminate the grievous shortcomings in the drafting of textbooks, teaching programs, and curriculums, and also come to terms with a number of other questions connected with the modernization of teaching and education, with the democratization of the schools' management, and so forth. The network of scientific-research and methodological workplaces in the center and in the regions must be reassessed and their activity concentrated on truly burning and unpostponable problems.

We have already mentioned that some schools suffer from a shortage of qualified teaching staff—teachers, vocational instructors, educators. Also affected by this shortage is the Pioneer Organization of the Socialist Youth Union, which is short of group leaders. It is necessary to encourage young people's interest in the teaching profession and to establish a well-thought-out system for the selection of secondary school graduates for the study of the teaching profession, giving special consideration to boys. Exceptional attention will have to be devoted to the preparation of future teachers at universities and to the postgraduate education of teaching staff. As is becoming apparent, the decision to train teachers for the upper primary school and for secondary schools by means of a uniform course of study at the faculties of pedagogy was not very fortunate. There is no such thing as a teacher in general in practice; a teacher always works at a certain school, at a given level of the school system, which must not be overlooked. It is probably no coincidence that complaints come from technical colleges about the preparedness of graduates of specialized secondary schools and that it is proposed that teachers for these types of schools be trained at technical colleges. It seems that the time is ripe to thoroughly examine this entire complex of issues and for the ministries of education, youth, and physical training to draw up a new profile of schools that train teachers. In this connection it will also be possible to thoroughly examine

the degree to which teachers are prepared to employ truly modern methods of pedagogical work, to what degree they understand the new requirements being placed on them.

The party regards the comprehensive upgrading of the social authority of teachers and other pedagogues as one of the most important social tasks in the present period of restructuring.

Regular regional and national meetings of teachers should contribute to activating the teaching community. We recommend that, following activists in districts and regions, a national conference of teachers be convened this year. We assume that, unlike in the past, it will have a working character; that there those issues will be raised in which the teaching community really takes a keen interest at present, issues that are connected with improving the conditions for their work and life and which must be tackled with the support of the whole public.

School, Family, the Entire Society

The preparation of the young generation is a matter of concern for the entire society. It presupposes the school's collaboration with the family, economic and social organizations, and scientific and cultural institutions.

In recalling this, we must stress that today the issue is not to have anyone "help" the school with education; the point is to have everyone realize, in particular, his own responsibility for the education of the young person.

We should perhaps deal with this issue comprehensively at a special session of the CPCZ Central Committee. We must fully realize that without the activation and coordinated influence of all—the family, the school, social organizations associated in the National Front, national committees, information media, the cultural and scientific front, the Armed Forces—we will come to terms neither with the various alarming phenomena among young people nor with the existence of youth groups with antisocial orientations. It is necessary to analyze why such undesirable activities take place and where their causes, and solutions to them, must be sought. We must not become reconciled to children and the young becoming estranged from the family, society, and the socialist state. It must not be permitted that antisocialist and often even criminal elements infiltrate informal groups of youth and direct their spontaneous activity against society. The recent events in Prague, about which Comrade Milos Jakes spoke, reaffirmed that we must substantially improve work with young people so that they cannot be misused against socialism. Party organs and organizations, regardless of the sector in which they operate, must regard this work as one of their most important tasks.

The paramount responsibility for the education of children and the youth is borne by the family. However, its care is often confined to ensuring the material conditions

for the young person's life. In many respects, an undesirable impersonalization between parents and children, as well as between parents and teachers, is taking place. It is necessary that teachers and pupils' parents understand one another more and that they respect the changes taking place in present-day schools and families. Only then will they cooperate in the closest possible and effective way, in which we must have a stake. In view of a number of problems that crop up in families, it is necessary to focus the attention of society as a whole on their stabilization. Cooperation between the school and the family is important also for an improvement in the general regime of the life of children and the youth at school and outside school. At present, this regime is marked strongly by neurosis-fostering and counterproductive haste and, often, by such demands on the child and the young person that they cannot bear them. Psychological research shows that this tends to be the source of young people's negative attitudes and the germ of their resistance to society. Deplorably, the educational and psychological counseling centers that have been built in regions and districts play their role inadequately and do not enjoy parents' trust. It will be necessary to give a reply to the question of why this is so, who works in them, and how they are managed.

An important role in the education of children and youth is played by social organizations associated in the National Front. Their activity, especially that of the Socialist Youth Union and its Pioneer Organization, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association, the Union for Cooperation With the Army, the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society, the Socialist Academy, and others—will have to be aimed at support for the school's educational work, at the promotion of children's and young people's interests, and at the creation of good material, technical, and cadre conditions for work with them.

A particularly important role in this process must be played by the Socialist Youth Union and its Pioneer Organization, which celebrates the 40th anniversary of its founding this year. We take this opportunity and congratulate this organization on this jubilee. We appreciate its activity and will support its efforts at development with the aim of further enhancing its influence on children.

In order for the children and youth organization to really fulfill its role, it is necessary to strengthen its influence on the management of schools, youth hostels, and students' dormitories—above all in the primary components. We want representatives of the Socialist Youth Union to participate more actively in the deliberations of educational councils, and deans' and rectors' collegiums, so that they would be well informed about the plans of schools' managements and could take part in resolving issues concerning the life and work of a school. Developing an extensive range of attractive methods and forms of work in the sphere of study, scientific-technical, ecological, public-benefiting, political-educational, and special-interest

activities, and activities aimed at an expedient use of free time, remains the duty of the Socialist Youth Union. In the future, the school should not remain a mere building where one learns. Its premises, material-technical equipment, and facilities must serve everyday activities of groups and units of Young Pioneers, Youth Union organizations, and young people in general.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement plays an important role in the upbringing of young people. In the sense of the deliberations of the statewide all-trade union conference and the plenary session of the Central Trade Union Council of June 1988, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has intensified its activity and helps to resolve many problems, especially those connected with secondary apprentices' centers. We expect trade unions to contribute to a better comprehension of the importance of the working people's life-long education, to making better use of acquired qualifications, to increasing family's responsibility for the upbringing of its children, to an expedient utilization of the free time of children and young people, and to resolving weighty problems, such as the selection for and awards to the education personnel of secondary apprentices' centers, and the transition of graduates from all types of schools to practical life. The trade union of education and science personnel should have a higher profile, it should be more active when it comes to creating the necessary prerequisites for educational work, the participation of teachers' collectives in school management, and ensuring good working conditions. It should more effectively contribute to care for the health, recreation, and housing of the educational personnel, and to their remuneration in accordance with the importance and quality of work, and more consistently demand of the pertinent bodies to solve their problems. Trade union bodies and organizations should pay more attention to relations in work collectives, to creating an atmosphere of criticism and comradely cooperation.

The press, radio, television, movies, and video must be used to educate and bring up youth and adults in a much better manner. As it was said at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session last October, mass information media must be fully aware of their responsibility for shaping the attitudes and ideological orientation of the younger generation. They must depict the work of educators more convincingly, lend support to their authority, and demonstrate the importance of learning in a man's life. It will depend precisely on them how our public will comprehend the new needs and tasks of school.

Party Members Must Be a Model for the Youth

The Communists must also be at the head of all changes in the upbringing of adolescents and the working people. The results which have been achieved in education are inseparably connected with the work of our party. They are the expression of the attention paid to it by the Central Committee, the territorially-based party bodies,

the party organizations in the sphere of education, as well as by Communists who are active in state bodies, and the institutions and social organizations of the National Front.

Now that we have embarked upon the path of qualitative changes in the life of society, which is opening up opportunities for young people and of all honorably thinking and behaving citizens, the responsibility of the party and of all its bodies and of every Communist for the harmonious development of the younger generation, has considerably increased. Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, expressed this unequivocally at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, when he said: "The younger generation represents an important force with which we fully reckon and on which we rely when resolving important tasks of restructuring and democratization; the party considers its preparation for life and work in socialist society to be one of the most important tasks."

Party members—by their exemplary attitude toward work and through their behavior and conduct—must serve as role models for young people. This, above all, applies to Communists who are bringing up their children. It is clearly no coincidence that at recent meetings with prewar party members, particular attention has been drawn to this. Our party has always attached great importance to the upbringing of children in the Communist families. Today, when the younger generation is preparing to solve demanding and difficult tasks, and when it frequently encounters unusually complex problems, this demand is doubly valid.

The CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat dealt with the experience from the work of the party in schools in October 1988. The report, which the Secretariat discussed, is in your briefing material. The acquired experience reveals that party organizations in the sphere of education actively support and assert the program of society's restructuring and democratization. The results of the deliberations of the 7th, 9th, and 10th CPCZ Central Committee sessions, and the gradual implementation of the measures aimed at ensuring these results, are evidence that the party organizations in the sphere of education are beginning to apply more extensively the method of critical analysis to their work and rendering personal accounts.

However, in some CPCZ primary organizations the desired change in employing effective methods of the party's leading role, in strengthening its political influence on the school's activity, still has not taken place. In such organizations routine, often even superficiality and indolence, noncomprehension of the depth and complexity of social changes survive. The activity of the majority of Communists in the sphere of education cannot disguise the passive attitudes of some party members, which are manifested by ignoring serious shortcomings, by aversion to resolving unpopular tasks, and by hiding behind others in an effort "not to burn one's fingers." We are certainly not

successful everywhere in developing criticism and self-criticism, in openly and in a principled way assessing shortcomings in the school's activity. In some primary organizations party work is limited to membership meetings. Such activity is self-serving, formalistic, and does not contribute to the activation of Communists and non-party members.

Party resolutions do not always help create a demanding comradesly atmosphere in educational collectives or unite Communists to creatively seek new methods leading to improving the quality of educational and scientific research work. We often come across party organizations isolating themselves, having little influence on non-party members and students. In such cases they can hardly react to their views, and even less oppose various covert and overt attacks on socialism and the policy of our party.

The implementation of the party's right to control deserves particular attention in the work of party organizations in the sphere of education. Thus far it has not become the permanent method of work or an instrument for mobilizing Communists. It is necessary to achieve a level where the implementation of the party's right to control is not narrowed only to control the ensurance of individual actions, as is still the case in some CPCZ primary organizations, but as a form and an instrument to activate all personnel in the sphere of education, to achieve the comprehensive preparedness of all school graduates, the desired efficiency of scientific research activity, and improvement in management work. The prerequisite for this is that party organizations, from their own standpoint, critically and openly assess the achieved results and the plans for the further development of the school, submitted to the party by the school's ranking personnel for assessment.

Communists in the sphere of education daily exert influence on thousands of young people. Those who speak frankly, who clarify the party policy and issues with profound conviction and enthusiasm, enjoy authority. This authority must rest not only on political viewpoints, but also on the quality of work and, as is again shows today, also on civic courage.

It is necessary for the party organizations at schools, their committees and party groups, know well the political situation at the school, the views and attitudes of educators and students, and on this basis influence their opinions and behavior.

When implementing the conclusions of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, the implementation of offensive, intelligible, and well argued ideological and mass political work must be in the foreground of attention. It is necessary to create scope for a matter-of-fact and patient discussion on all acute problems. The development of ideological and mass political work must also be focused on teachers being well trained for their lecture and propaganda activity.

Party organizations bear the responsibility for an active application of democratic principles in cadre policy. It is necessary to continue strengthening party influence on the selection, training, and placement of cadres, and to know the views and standpoints of collectives in which the proposed candidates are active. It is necessary to ensure that experts who are dedicated to socialism and are morally firm are directing the schools. The new style, methods, and ways of party work must be markedly asserted in the preparations for annual membership meetings and all-enterprise and all-school party conferences. Discussions with party members should contribute to an increased capability for action and a united course for every primary organization.

The party membership base must also be improved in the sphere of education. The quality and preparedness of Communists are decisive in the capability for action of party organizations and the standard of employing political guidance in educational collectives. This demand is urgent, especially at institutes of higher education, where one out of two educators is a member of the party. It might be that some people will be surprised by that high figure. Unfortunately, not even 5 percent of students are organized party members.

It is necessary to improve the care for the selection and training of candidates for party membership from the ranks of students of institutes of higher education. It will be necessary to pay particular attention to the growth of the membership base in educational collectives in primary schools. We cannot be satisfied with the state of affairs when party organizations do not exist in some fully organized primary schools. Of the total number of education personnel in kindergartens, primary, and secondary schools, 25 percent are party members. The territorially-based party bodies must pay systematic attention to the work of party organizations at schools and provide them with effective, differentiated assistance, which proceeds from a thorough knowledge of their concrete situation.

The response to the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of February affirms that the party organizations in schools concentrate their attention on concrete educational work with teachers and students. We are convinced that the great political force which the more than 60,000 Communists—educators and students—represent, will be revealed in concrete actions when strengthening the socialist character of our school in an effort aimed at better the results of its work.

The school's task, above all, is to open the way to help one learn to know the changing world, to help mold the young person into a personality which, thanks to his knowledge and firm moral norms, is able to cope with the new demands brought about by the changed technological, and social conditions of work and the entire lifestyle of modern man. Today, the school cannot remain satisfied with only providing students with a fair

quantity of knowledge, findings, and information, but must foster in them a lasting interest in studies, self-improvement, and the need for creative work, the ability to correctly orient themselves in life, and the determination to assert themselves as much as possible and contribute to the development of socialist society. This is the road we must take to make optimal use of our country's creative potential. This is the main conclusion at which they should arrive—to see in education, in the teacher's noble work, one of the fundamental prerequisites for successful changes which we have begun implementing—for social restructuring.

It is necessary to create in every school a businesslike atmosphere, suitable for systematic work and honest study, the healthy intellectual and physical development of pupils and students; stimulate them to achieve the best possible results in their studies, mold the thinking and attitudes of young people which correspond to the needs of the time. Each school must experience this rebirth; it must teach its pupils and students to make use of the opportunities which socialist society provides for them for their best possible theoretical and practical preparation for life and work.

The CPCZ, its Central Committee, appreciate the work of the schools and holds in esteem all those who are with initiative and unselfishness implementing the educational policy of the socialist state. It fully relies on teachers and all personnel in the sphere of education. It knows that they will invest all their know-how and educational mastery in the work to which they dedicated their lives. We are expressing the conviction that the high demands on upbringing and education will meet with full understanding and active support of all Communists, of our entire society. The better we prepare the coming generation, the more successfully we will be able to solve questions posed to our society in the future.

Jakes Gives Concluding Speech

LD3103170289 Prague CTK in English
1525 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes appreciated the unity of the party Central Committee, which is the basis of party unity and united action in the implementation of its policy, in an address concluding a meeting of the party Central Committee today.

The session provided an answer to many topical issues of internal and international political development. This is good for uniting the party's actions and making its stands

known to the citizens. This must also be helped by the further improvement of the public flow of information. It will now be the main thing to consistently abide by the adopted conclusions and to energetically and resolutely fulfil the tasks of socio-economic development, restructuring and democratization. Preparations for the 18th congress of the party will continue to be in the centre of attention, the general secretary stated.

He pointed out that the fulfillment of tasks will depend on how the working people and citizens will be mobilized and won over for their support in practical activity. Offensive political work of the party and a high activity and vigour of Communists are essential for this, the general secretary declared.

Threat to NATO's 'Political Unity' Assessed

LD0404101189 Prague CTK in English
0905 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 4 (CTK)—The weekly of the Czechoslovak Defense Ministry OBRANA LIDU has pointed to the threatened political unity of the NATO member countries due to the gradual easing of tension in international relations.

For the forty years since the foundation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), this unity has been kept alive by repeating the thesis about the "Soviet military superiority" and the "threat from the East". At a time when the Soviet Union, together with its allies, is unilaterally reducing its armed forces and substantially changing the structure of military groupings in Europe, old arguments are not sufficient.

The new U.S. Administration is trying to gain support of Europeans for a plan of nuclear modernization but, with the exception of London, such support does not practically exist, the weekly stressed in its latest issue.

West Europeans are not "anti-American" but do not have reasons to insist on political principles which represent barricades built to oppose the increasing efforts for greater security with fewer weapons.

The fear of structural changes in international relations will not disappear with the enforcement of new arms programs which could, in their consequences, reverse the development several years back. This awareness should reflect itself both in the prepared overall political conception of the new U.S. President and in the plans which will be prepared by the top representatives of the 16 NATO member countries in Brussels at the end of May, the weekly concluded.

Authorities Deny Shots Fired at Border 31 Mar
LD0504083589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0750 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In connection with the arrest of three traffic hooligans at the border crossing point Drenitz on 31 March 1989, Western media sources are claiming that shots were fired there. This is fabrication from beginning to end. The GDR responsible authorities state that no firearms were used during the arrest of the traffic hooligans.

Former Intelligence Chief Interviewed
AU3003105489 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German
24 Mar 89 pp 88-89

[Interview with Markus Wolf, former chief of the GDR Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration, by Lew Hohmann: "One Cannot Avoid the Truth"; place and date not given]

[Text] [Hohmann] Our talk deals with three men: With your father Friedrich Wolf, with your brother Konrad Wolf, and with you, Markus Wolf. For 3 decades your public image was characterized by the fact that no pictures of you existed. Your name was known, but not your face. Therefore, many were surprised when in 1984 you were ready to give us an interview on the film about your brother, entitled "The Time That Remains," that is, to appear on television for the first time. Was this a signal of your retirement?

[Wolf] At that time many things coincided. I was deeply affected by the early death of my brother in March 1982 because he was only 56 years old, and this prompted me to reflect on my own life. Koni [abbreviation for Konrad] left the project of "Troika" behind. Nobody but me was able to authentically report this story. I myself wanted to tell some of the many stories from my life and my surroundings that had not been written down. When I turned 60 in January 1983, I was able to initiate my retirement. Moreover, my appearance, that is, also my identity, had become publicly known in connection with the funeral ceremonies for my brother. Seen from this point of view, the interview perhaps anticipated my retirement.

[Hohmann] How difficult was it to take this step from military to civilian life?

[Wolf] The transition from the duties of my office to my present inclinations was not a difficult one. Certain public relations have always existed, and my office was always connected with information. Of course, I am still a man with access to secrets and have to follow certain rules; there are facts whose secrecy must be guaranteed because the security of people depends on it. This is also the reason my freedom of movement is still limited. However, the reasons do not only lie with us. After the Western press recently speculated about the possibility of my going to Stuttgart, I heard that inquiries have

reportedly been made to the Salzgitter Registration Office and Federal Prosecutor General Rebmann about whether such a trip would have consequences under penal law....

[Hohmann] Would you have to expect to be arrested?

[Wolf] This can only be answered by the above-mentioned authorities.

[Hohmann] Years ago, a photo was published on the front page of FRG news magazines. The photo was connected with your visit to Sweden, to Tucholsky's grave. What does one feel when, after having returned home, one finds out that one has been observed?

[Wolf] Of course, this is annoying, but it is not a complete surprise as one makes observations. In this case, it was possible to find out the exact place the photo was taken; the visit to Tucholsky's grave was a stop before this snapshot.

[Hohmann] In our film on your father Friedrich Wolf, entitled "Excuse Me That I Am a Human Being," you said that you wanted to become an aircraft designer before the war. Why have you done anything but design airplanes?

[Wolf] I still had this wish after the war. When I worked for Radio Berlin, I discussed this topic with Walter Ulbricht. I asked him to permit me to continue my studies. However, he said that we would not construct any airplanes anyway and I should do what the party thinks is right. It was a very short conversation.

[Hohmann] And who asked you to take over the GDR intelligence service?

[Wolf] I do not want to answer this yet.

[Hohmann] This was in 1952. Thus, you assumed an exposed office for which you were incompletely prepared at the age of 29.

[Wolf] This also happened to others in other places. I was also little qualified for radio work. I almost resented editorial work, writing, desks. However, the situation was the same all over the country. We learned to walk by running, so to speak.

[Hohmann] The success of your work has been repeatedly described in superlatives by the Western press. The propaganda by the Claasen Publishing House for your book "Die Troika" included the sentence: "Markus Wolf is a myth—his name has become the symbol of the GDR's espionage successes." What has caused this reputation?

[Wolf] This myth is a product of the media and an exaggeration. Western media tend to personify things. Here the fact is ignored that such results can never be the

work of an individual, but only the result of the work of many others before me and together with me. Of course, one tries to make one's own contribution....

[Hohmann] Can you describe this contribution?

[Wolf] This includes dealing with people, tolerance, open-mindedness. One precondition is not to imagine the world as one would like it to be but to see it as it really is. Applied to one's partner, it means that one has to accept him as he is and to find things in common via a dialogue, things that can be a potential basis for cooperation. In this area there is also a coalition of reason, and the fact that we have experienced such a long period of peace in Europe is a result of our work, among other things. The knowledge alone that we and the fraternal organs of other socialist countries are rooted in the centers of authority, that the other side cannot be sure that military plans will remain secret—that is, that an undefined transparency reduces the chances of aggression—makes our work very useful. Therefore, we speak of reconnaissance or scouting.

[Hohmann] Your father was a man of bourgeois origin, a man who devoured Nietzsche and Tolstoi, who was a pacifist but also a fighter at the Ruhr River. He was radical and enthusiastic, a health fanatic and a vegetarian, a writer and a politician, he loved himself and he loved women. Where do you see similarities or differences? Were your way, your ideals influenced by your father?

[Wolf] Perhaps I am calmer and more level-headed than my father, perhaps I can keep myself in check better. The enthusiasm, the talent for music and lyrics was certainly stronger in Koni. I have probably approached writing in a more rational way than my father and my brother. Conformity and similarity exist in particular in the basic political attitudes and character qualities, which my father influenced. I also think that I got the critical view, the ability for constructive doubt, from my father—on the basis of firm positions, however. On this basis my father certainly had a troublesome and rebellious mind, also in his own ranks.

[Hohmann] Would you also say this about yourself?

[Wolf] Yes, but he was also very disciplined, and this I would also say about myself. I know situations where strict discipline is absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, despite all discipline there is no absolute credulousness, no blind respect for every holy cow, but positions that one does not abandon.

[Hohmann] There is a speech by your father which I like to quote: "Fiction is often identical to hurting someone. Naturally, many of our fellow men do not like this. Why do we have to hurt others? Is voicing the truth really always so painful? (...) We are often told, yes, this is a temporary matter, why do you want to hurt us because of this, why do you deal with these problems? (...) Because

an up-to-date writer says what he feels bound to say despite any danger." This was said in October 1947, 40 years ago, at the first German Writers Congress in Berlin. Would you, as a son and writer, agree with this?

[Wolf] Absolutely. Even though this quote refers to the dealing at that time with the guilt and complicity of the German people concerning fascism, problems which moved him very much; of course the problem of truth, which often—actually most of the time—hurts, is something that applies to any time, also to our time. I can never see any harm in describing the truth. I know that not everyone sees the matter in this way, but I think one cannot avoid the truth, and one should not try to do so. I think that by hiding the truth one does the most harm to oneself.

[Hohmann] Friedrich Wolf was known as an honest man who advocated justice and was against violence, arbitrariness, and abuse of power. What did he do during the time of the Moscow trials? How did he deal with the truth of Stalin's crimes?

[Wolf] This truth did not exist for us in this way at the time. Everything was contradictory, obscure, inconceivable, in gross contradiction to the goals and ideals of the October revolution and also to Stalin's words. This made it difficult to understand and assess things. I think my father never understood the entire tragedy. The 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 took place 3 years after his death. Therefore, there are only scant indications of his reactions. Friends remember that he was very shocked, in particular since very close friends and acquaintances were among the victims. Sergey Tretyakov was arrested and killed later, the mother of our half-sister Lena was sent to a camp. Our mother went to the south, looked for Lena, found her, and brought her to us. Only later did we understand how much courage was necessary to do this.

[Hohmann] You dedicated your book to your mother: "For our Meni." How important was your mother to you and your father?

[Wolf] Our mother meant very much to Koni and me. During childhood Koni was certainly more attached to her than I was because I became independent earlier. Nevertheless, particularly later, we were very close. Only later, in letters and reports, did I realize how important Mother was to Father as a companion. During the first decade, when we were born, they shared a profound love, but later on they also shared a true community of political and literary views. She was an indispensable support in every respect, the stabilizing element for work but also for the complicated family relations. And at some point in writing "Troika" I felt the need to dedicate it to my mother, because the mothers of all heroes in "Troika" played a decisive role in the lives of their families.

[Hohmann] How much danger was your father in in Moscow at that time?

[Wolf] I can only speculate on this. Only later did I hear that Father expected to be arrested and that this was why he speeded up his emigration to Spain. This is consistent with the stories told by older comrades, who, when they had work to do in the Soviet Union during those years, were always very glad to be able to leave Moscow without any problems.

[Hohmann] LITERATURNAYA GAZETA recently published an article about your father, which did not leave out these problematic moments of his biography. At first our media were more restrained, which gave rise to Western comments. This is an old problem. In your book you write, referring to 1946: "... and already at that time sensitive, unpleasant issues were avoided in our papers and on the radio. Thus, the field is left to the opponent." How important is this range of problems for you?

[Wolf] I think that everyone who has to deal with the media and the public learns that concealing facts that are publicly known or avoiding problems does not help us to win people for our cause and our views, but that we thus leave them prey to other influences. Of course, often it is not easy to express one's views on problematic issues that may be declared taboo at some time. There are objective reasons for this, in particular with regard to historical facts that cannot be easily verified, but one often has to deal with subjective views. That this is useful has been recently confirmed in connection with your film about my father "Forgive Me for Being Human." (Originally the film was not to be shown in its full length—the editors)

[Hohmann] Your book dramatically centers on the fate of Lothar Wloch and his father, a Berlin Communist, who was among the victims of Stalin's persecution. In what way did these experiences influence the thoughts and actions of you and your brother?

[Wolf] I think much more now, having the benefit of the experience of our reality and of dealing with it, of the "efforts of the plain" [mühen der ebene], as Brecht said, and of the continuous confrontation with the other side. Thinking about our own past, the convulsions caused by the 20th party congress, and other afflictions that followed—all this very much occupied and tortured Koni in the 1970's, and it certainly also played a role in many talks he had with friends in the Soviet Union, with colleagues from the film world who were very close to him, such as Sergey Gerasimov, Vasily Shukshin, or Larisa Shepitko, and with writers Danil Granin and Konstantin Simonov. Only now have I read how much these two men also tortured themselves in dealing with this. These facts have only now been published, but the thoughts were there long before glasnost and perestroika. These were problems that accompanied Koni, myself, and many others and about which we thought very much during these years.

[Hohmann] Now, in the 1980's, the problems of the 1930's have become the acid test for dealing with one's own history and with one's own mistakes. How is the credibility of ideology linked with the way history is dealt with?

[Wolf] It is certain that the credibility of our ideology is also measured by its ability for self-criticism. This presupposes a sovereign way of dealing with the historical truth, with its reality. This is no easy task. One has to differentiate. On the one hand, this is Soviet history, on the other, these are events that have an effect on our own history. To deny the differences and their causes is to bypass the truth. Of course, the truth that has been recognized must be published, but I think balance is necessary in any case—as Gorbachev demanded in his speech at the 70th anniversary of the October revolution. Two things have to be done: Great things that have been accomplished by our social system must not be lost, and serious mistakes must be pointed out to avoid their repetition. However, I am suspicious of anything that looks like sensationalism. And if I look in the other direction, I often see tendentious publications, which have no intention of helping us but seek to damage us by fundamentally calling into question the ideas of socialism. If one talks about love for truth, one needs a proper sense of perspective, the entire truth.

[Hohmann] In your book you also deal with the most recent history, with the events surrounding the expatriation of Biermann. This is an event that still dismays me, because many colleagues who protested at that time have since left us. What connection do you see between the measures taken in 1976 and the long list of those who have meanwhile changed sides?

[Wolf] The topic of my epilogue, which broaches this issue, is the situation of a man, my brother Konrad, who has achieved much, who plays an important role in our country as a film director and president of an academy and—who has to tackle things in his life that are as complicated as those that have to be tackled by the other two friends of the "Troika" in their lives, in their society in West Berlin and in the United States. And in particular, while Koni deals with "Troika," with the events and conflicts of the 1930's and after 1945, the events surrounding Biermann are taking place and make Koni think about his own development, about our ways, and the conflicts of the present. Thus, what is discussed is Koni, his fate, his struggle, his efforts in a situation that is not unambiguous for him. And if today one reads Koni's statement in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND at that time, one feels that he tried not to argue in a simple way but to see the matter in all its complications and to adopt a firm position nevertheless. It is my concern to show this, not to analyze the causes of the phenomena that are still occupying us today and still must occupy us.

[Hohmann] How should the most recent history and the present be dealt with? What you call transparency in your book is called glasnost by Gorbachev. Where would you agree with his more far-reaching ideas, such as pluralism of opinion and democratization?

[Wolf] I would be careful with terms that have a specific political background. The basic tendency—the revitalization and further development of the ideals of the October revolution—is absolutely necessary, and one can only do all one can to make them effective, in particular since at present a great number of terms are being discussed in the Soviet Union itself and their application is very different from region to region. We have our own development, our own experiences, our own needs and requirements.

[Hohmann] But what are the conclusions we can draw from this?

[Wolf] Recently I was asked a similar question by a student at the "Konrad Wolf" Film College in Babelsberg near Potsdam. I said that the circumstances in which one lives are always the most complicated and that the only way to face them is to be active, to interfere, and to advocate one's own opinion and to show courage where necessary. It is important that every individual feel that he is able to do something in his area and then actually do something. Thus, when we are talking about perfecting socialist democracy, I also mean encouraging and enabling even more people to be competent, to perform, and to participate.

[Hohmann] What is the role of the public in this respect; how large is our pent-up demand?

[Wolf] Perhaps we should talk about this in our media. I do not think that our mass media and our information policy are perfect. What I said about the truth in another context plays a role here. But one must not understand this one-sidedly. What is important for me is not only the description of critical truths but also the description of the achievements. For this there are many beautiful and interesting examples, which can motivate people to think and act independently if they are described correctly. But only if reality is reflected in the media and the arts in such a way that it corresponds to the experiences of the people.

[Hohmann] When you talk about your brother Konrad and about yourself, you have repeatedly stressed that there was no contradiction between mind and power. Did one brother support the other?

[Wolf] In the epilogue I try to describe that our talks always had the goal of clarifying things, of finding solutions. Where I was able to help I did so by trying to clear up misunderstandings, calling attention to people who felt they had been treated unjustly and who had talked to Koni. Sometimes this cleared up the matter, sometimes it did not.

[Hohmann] Konrad's last great initiative—together with Stefan Hermlin—was the "Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace" in December 1981. Were there different assessments of its results?

[Wolf] There were such differences at that time, but not between myself and my brother.

[Hohmann] This peace meeting 9 years ago today seems to me an anticipation of confidence-building measures, of the new way of thinking. In the book you speak about friends who become political enemies after the war but still remain friends. Is this the message?

[Wolf] If the book has a message, it is this one in the spirit of our time and the experiences of our time—that despite a different way of thinking and despite opposition positions on important questions, one can deal in a reasonable way, even a friendly way with each other if one respects the other person. During a talk in Alaska in 1975 the "Troika" heroes notice that there is much more that unites them than separates them.

[Hohmann] You also write about sentimental things, about desires, about great feelings of love and friendship, of ideals, of illusions, and dreams. What has happened to this?

[Wolf] Our dreams are the ideals with which we grew up. Koni often spoke of Lenin's dreams. If one wants to put it in a way that is not restricted by time: helping humaneness, humane thinking, human reason, and justice to achieve a breakthrough. This is connected with the events and experiences we have already discussed, also with growing old. But also with the illusion that the socialist revolution will make a better world a reality quickly and that one knows oneself to be in harmony on all important issues with all those who are working for this. Angel Wagenstein, one of Koni's best friends, said this somewhat melancholically in a film about him: We wanted to change this world quickly, quickly.

[Hohmann] Have you been able to realize your personal dreams?

[Wolf] I was born on a Sunday and I have had much luck in life. Even though I did not work in the job of my dreams, I have been able to find fulfillment and realize my ideas in other kinds of work, and this has remained true until now.

[Hohmann] You have just turned 66. What are your plans?

[Wolf] I am faced with a massive heap of memories, experiences, and material that has been collected over decades. Experiences of my own life, of the last decades of my work, but also experiences and fates in the antifascist struggle, in the illegal resistance. I have long been thinking about the history of the "Red Chapel." In this connection, I am also thinking about such a book as "The Aesthetics of the Resistance" by Peter Weiss, about which I have many reservations.

[Hohmann] Will your new work be in the form of memoirs?

[Wolf] It will certainly contain autobiographical details, but actually I am thinking rather about the fate of other people. At the ceremony for my retirement I jokingly said that if I wanted to do all that I plan to do I would have to live to 150 while remaining physically and mentally fit. Since I am a realist, I will probably tackle things in an economical way.

[Hohmann] I wish you the best of luck with your two projects—writing and living to an advanced age. Thank you for this interview.

Evangelical Synod Criticizes Travel Regulations
AU0304164789 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
3 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "GDR Synod Wants Law Against Eavesdropping"]

[Text] Berlin—At the synod of the Berlin-Brandenburg Evangelical Church in East Berlin, the travel restrictions for GDR citizens, which still exist even after the latest amendment of the legal regulations, met with massive criticism. Several speakers pointed out that young people and those who do not have any relatives in the West remain excluded from trips to the West. On Friday [30 March] high-ranking church leaders had welcomed the new regulations and spoken of an "important development."

There is still "sadness, resignation, and bitterness" in the villages and among the population, Father Hans-Peter Freimark from Neustadt-Dosse said. Even after the amendments, the travel regulations are "deeply unsatisfactory." It is impermissible that two classes of people exist in the GDR—one which is permitted to travel and the other which is prohibited from doing so. This goes as far as young people recommending to their parents who are about to retire that they move to the West, so that they and their children can be permitted to travel in the future.

Juergen Schwochow, the regional youth priest of Potsdam, criticized that young people are not permitted to travel to the West other than through the youth and student exchange striven for by the Free German Youth [FDJ], the state's youth organization. This gives the FDJ power to make decisions that only a state authority should have.

The church leadership announced that it has asked the GDR Government to include in the penal code "a penal provision for eavesdropping in line with the recognized principle of protection of the citizens' personal rights and dignity." So far there is no such penal provision in the GDR. The prosecutor general dropped the investigations concerning the bugging attacks on East Berlin priest Rainer Eppelmann. However, the church does not have sufficient evidence to act against specific persons.

At the beginning of the year, several bugs, probably installed by the State Security Service, were discovered in Father Eppelmann's apartment. This had caused great concern among the members of the parish.

Manfred Becker, the head of the synod, stated that the Evangelical Church will continue to call for "changes" in the GDR. As an example he cited "independence of the citizens, intensified public discussion about public matters, new educational approaches, and many other things." If there were really talks about the development in the GDR, the synod "will not forego saying what it considers necessary." The synod conference will conclude on Tuesday [4 April].

Honecker Congratulates Jewish Community Leader
AU0404114989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 3 Apr 89 p 2

[Excerpt] West Berlin (ADN)—On Sunday [2 April] at a reception in the building of the Jewish Community of West Berlin, Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Jewish Community of West Berlin, received numerous congratulations for having been in office for 40 years. The personal greetings and wishes by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, were conveyed by Kurt Loeffler, GDR state secretary for church affairs. Erich Honecker greeted the comrade from the difficult and sacrificial days of the struggle for freedom and peace in the dark nights of fascism. He has very often and with pleasure recalled the days they spent together during the time of new beginning, and the meetings in the framework of today's cooperation, Honecker wrote. These joint efforts for supporting peace, friendship between peoples, and solidarity must be preserved, particularly at a time where the disgrace of racism and hatred of foreigners is once again emerging, the GDR state secretary said. Heinz Galinski expressed cordial thanks for Erich Honecker's greetings. [passage omitted]

Sport-Technology Delegation Ends Syria Visit
AU0404092989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 3 Apr 89 p 2

[Text] Damascus (ADN)—The signing of an agreement on further friendly cooperation between the Society for Sport and Technology [GST] and the Syrian People's Army concluded the visit of a GST delegation to Syria over the weekend [1-2 April]. The document was signed by Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch, chairman of the GST Central Executive Committee, and Brigadier General Muhammad al-'Ali, commander in chief of the Syrian People's Army.

Prior to that, in a meeting with the GST delegation, Corps General Mustafa Talas, deputy prime minister and defense minister of Syria, paid tribute to the resourceful work of the GDR for disarmament and

detente. Sa'id Hammadi, member of the regional leadership of the Ba'th Party, head of the Office for Youth and Sports, and president of the Syrian-GDR Friendship Society, had a friendly exchange of opinions with the guests.

Ethiopian Parliamentarians Visit People's Chamber
AU2903074989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Mar 89 p 2

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [23 March] experiences in the parliamentary work of the GDR and Ethiopia were the focal point of an exchange of experiences in the house of the People's Chamber. Deputy Guenter Hartmann, member of the People's Chamber Presidium and chairman of the group of the National Democratic Party of Germany, welcomed the delegation of the Ethiopian National Assembly. The guests acquainted themselves with the structure and working methods of the GDR's supreme people's representative body and the work of the deputies in the 10 groups and 5 parties and 5 mass organizations.

Delegation head Debela Dinsa, vice president of the Ethiopian State Council, asked about the working out of laws. Guenter Hartmann explained the democratic process of decisionmaking, referring to the example of the law on the active and passive right to vote at local elections for foreign citizens, which has recently been passed by the People's Chamber. [passage omitted]

With this exchange of experiences, the Ethiopian delegation concluded its official visit to the GDR.

Microelectronic Controls Construction Starts
AU3003144589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Eisleben (ADN)—The construction of microelectronic controllers—ranging from combinatorial circuit parts to robot controllers—has just been started in a new production facility of the "Wilhelm Pieck" Mansfeld Combine in Eisleben. The first project for the centralized construction of means of rationalization and toolmaking which meet the latest standards was thus put into operation. Therefore, the working and living conditions of the automation technicians in the parent enterprise of the GDR nonferrous metal center have considerably improved. This year it will be possible to assemble, among other things, 40 Mansfeld process controllers more than in 1988. The Mansfeld process controllers are office computers that have been especially developed for rationalization and are used in CAD/CAM systems.

Central Committee Obituary for Maj Gen Schuetz
AU2203134189

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 21 March on page 2, under the headline "Comrade Josef Schuetz; Obituary by the Central Committee," carries the 300-word obituary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for retired Major General Josef Schuetz, former deputy chief of the civil defense main administration, who died on 17 March 1989 "as a result of a tragic traffic accident."

MSZMP Central Committee Session Continues

Berecz Views 'Political Publicity'

LD2903180789 Budapest MTI in English
1450 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The first item on the agenda of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee's session was the development of political publicity and the proposal on the basic principles of a law on information. The body also passed a position on the basic principles of the party's press policy, as well as the development of the party press. The keynote address was delivered by Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

He said: "Since the party conference in May, 1988, there has been a breakthrough in the development of political publicity. It has become wider, and currently has a larger scope than at any time in the course of the past three decades. At the same time, as regards the structure and operation of this publicity, this period is still only one of transition.

The consistent establishment of publicity can only be achieved through the profound transformation of the political system of decisions. This would, however, take a longer time of possibly several years. Although much has been done in this respect, a real breakthrough has not yet come in the mechanism of political decision making, since this would be mainly connected to the reorganization of institutions in the wake of the new constitution. Under these conditions, contradictory elements in the operation of publicity are inevitable.

"We greatly need a new law on information. The Political Committee considers the bill could be submitted to parliament as early as the second half of the year, which would guarantee the right for each party, organization and institution to decide when and what it wants to make public, as well the occasions when they are obliged to give information."

"We are convinced that it is the unalienable right of legal institutions to establish and manage their own means of communication, and define their political profile and their means and purpose of activity, provided they comply with the Constitution.

"The HSWP—while supporting the far-reaching democratization process—does not want to diminish its political participation and influence, but, on the contrary, further strengthen it. We are engaged in a political struggle for the top posts of the national media to represent our party in accordance with its genuine political weight, influence and mass support."

Mr Berecz also mentioned the tensions that have existed for some time in the relations between journalists and the HSWP. The only way we can settle our disputes with the journalists is to review our attitude and stop giving orders.

Mr Berecz said, "The most important mass media, TV, and radio and the Hungarian news agency, should belong to the nation and be supervised by a democratically elected and controlled government. Supervision would cover major personnel decisions and the marking out of general political guidelines for the national mass media. These institutions should strive for political objectivity without daily political wrangling and unceasing criticism of the government's general line," he said.

On the party press, Mr Berecz pointed out that the HSWP's newspapers and periodicals are gaining unprecedented importance. One of the few questions which have to be re-interpreted is that these newspapers must not be subordinated exclusively to certain leading bodies and their auxiliary apparatuses. It should not be allowed for a party organ to become the intellectual centre of factional endeavours, but they should provide space for different views and the confrontation of opinions," Mr Berecz said.

Lukacs Details Role of Party

LD2903184389 Budapest MTI in English
1745 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—First, HSWP CC [Central Committee] Secretary Janos Lukacs reviewed the lessons offered by party debates in policy and organization. He stated that the overwhelming majority of the membership expects the Central Committee to take the initiative with regard to questions of basic concern to society. In the experience of party debates, most members have realized and accepted that Hungarian society is progressing in the direction of the multi-party system.

Following, Mr Lukacs raised a few ideas relating to party organization and operation, and its structure and changing position in the political system. He said that the order of the HSWP's organization is no longer suitable for attaining the democratic action unity of the membership. The required organization puts an end to the previous hierarchic mode of operation and is capable of renewal and self-rectification.

The principle of voluntarism and the autonomy of party organizations should prevail in party construction, and it is also necessary to put into practice the majority principle which is also served by the freedom of platform.

Speaking about the main functions the HSWP should carry out the promotion of development in the socialist direction under the multi-party system, Mr Lukacs said that first of all, the party should successfully stand its

ground in the election battle of MPs and council members, extend political support to the government, contribute to economic invigoration, and participate in the main intellectual processes, Mr Lukacs said.

To block the way to unjustified integration of political parties and bodies of workshop management, we propose the Central Committee advise the Council of Ministers to annul all legal rulings which enable the political movements to interfere with personnel decisions, Mr Lukacs said. The parties' legal equality would be guaranteed if all lawful political parties were declared free to operate in all social institutions.

Finally, Mr Lukacs pointed out that as the present circumstances call for the early completion of the HSWP's new system of organization and operation, the relevant ideas should be presented to the Central Committee late April and early May. The question of the freedom of platform and in-party elections is to be discussed at the end of May, and the draft rules of organization in June.

Pozsgay Discusses 'New Political Course'

LD0204195989 Budapest MTI in English
1641 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—In preparation for the coming 12th Congress of the Hungarian Communist Youth Union (KISZ) there are a number of new groups being formed within the union, who are to operate as members of the National Youth Movement, currently being formed on a federative principle. The [word indistinct] of the Hungarian Workers' Youth Union, the Union for Democratic Socialism and the Agrarian Youth Union, was today followed by the statutory meeting of the Union of Young Professionals, also electing its leadership, in Budapest.

At the meeting of the new political youth organization, with 1,700 members, a speech was given by Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee, minister of state.

After a period when intellectuals were underrated, a new political course must be found, declared Mr Pozsgay, adding that young professions can count on the reform powers of HSWP. However, the HSWP can only regain the confidence and backing for its future socialist programme, if it admits that the course it experimented with led to a dead-end. It should also pronounce that there is no socialism without democracy. It is precisely young people and young professions who could put this concept into practice, continued Mr Pozsgay.

He stated: 'The HSWP should also take into consideration the fact that successful political parties are those which completely identify with the mature and recognized requirements of society. Time will only tell who can come up with a reliable manifesto which people will trust. As, however, the various manifestos are becoming more and more similar, the real question is now authenticity.

'No doubt, the HSWP does not have the advantage in this respect. But it has gained enormous experience, established a vast organizational network and a large membership, which will be able to cope with the crisis within the party ranks, provided they vote in favour of reforms and regard the freedom of manifesto as something excluding the possibility of return to the Stalinist model.

MSZMP's Istvan Sarlos Meets GDR's Maleuda

AU3103135389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 30 Mar 89 p 4

[Excerpts] Budapest (ADN)—Talks in Budapest on Wednesday [29 March] between Istvan Sarlos, vice president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, and Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany, focused on the work of the people's representations in the GDR and Hungary, and on topical political questions. Guenther Maleuda stated that his visit is a concrete contribution toward activating the fundamental guidelines for the development of bilateral relations that were adopted during the friendly visit between Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council. [passage omitted]

Istvan Sarlos discussed current trends and problems of the work of the Hungarian National Assembly. They are naturally closely related to the overall domestic political situation, Sarlos said. The country must implement the further construction of socialism under new conditions. There are numerous social tensions, the standard of living has decreased, and social problems have worsened. It has been decided to establish a multiparty system, and the first new parties are emerging. A new constitution is also currently being worked out, Sarlos concluded.

Grosz Begins Visit to Soviet Subcarpathia

For reportage on the visit of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, to the Transcarpathian Oblast of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic, including his meetings with local leaders, see the East Europe section of the 4 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Roundtable Teams Continue Meetings

LD0404111489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] [Announcer] Now a dispatch by our reporter from the palace of the office of the Council of Ministers. Over to Marek Kassa and Robert Lipke.

[Kassa] The first to meet was the team for trade union pluralism, which convened at 1100. All signs are that this team will complete its work today. The compromise proposed at the previous meeting by the coalition-government side concerning the issue of the people fired for union activity at the beginning of the eighties seems to be resolved before the signing of the team's final position.

[Lipke] At this very moment the roundtable team for economy and social policy is starting its meeting. Today it will discuss issues connected with ensuring the profitability of agricultural production. The participants in the subteam for agriculture are demanding that stronger emphasis be put in the final document of this team on clauses concerning the food economy.

The issue of indexation remains unresolved. One expects a stance of the OPZZ Council on the already agreed proposal of the government and opposition sides on this matter. The results of the talks between Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa on the issue of the Gdansk shipyard are also being expected.

[Kassa] The political team will meet late this afternoon. One can expect that the discussion will concern the powers of the president and the Senate. Editorial work [as heard] is continuing on all the other issues.

Economic, Social Team Concludes Work

LD0404221989 Warsaw PAP in English
2059 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 4—The "round table" team for economic and social policy concluded work today by adopting a "stance on social and economic policy and systemic reforms". The team, presided over by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski, held 13 meetings. PAP learned from Dariusz Jadowski, a representative of the government Press Bureau.

The stance contains 6 chapters. One of them, titled "The Protection of the Population Against the Consequences of Inflation and Balancing the Economy", concerning in its greater part the indexation of wages and incomes, received a votum separatum from National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] representatives. Wacław Martyniuk stated that the OPZZ could not sign the document regarding that part because the resolution of the OPZZ Executive Committee contains another decision. In connection with this, the "stance" was complemented with an entry taking account of the statement of the OPZZ side.

The first of the chapters deals with improving market supply and the living standard of the population.

The second chapter pertains to curbing inflation and balancing the economy. It speaks of the need to eliminate within 2-3 years the budget deficit and the redistributive functions of the budget. The practice of covering state expenditures through empty money is to be banned by 1990.

The key elements of the program of introducing a market food economy will be agreed on with the trade unions. The stance also carries an entry on counteracting the growing "dolarization" of the economy, including lifting the sale of domestic goods and services for foreign currency and limiting the number of enterprises entitled to sale their products for hard currency. Action will be started at the same time to reach, at first internal and then full, convertibility of the zloty.

The third chapter concerns the protection of the population against the consequences of inflation and balancing the economy. Its entries speak about the need to introduce a common indexation of basic wage rates and other elements of individual remunerations.

The fourth chapter refers to the program of labour protection and employment.

The fifth chapter concerns a new economic order. The new order also stands for the elimination of the remnants of the command-and-distribution system and for shaping economic policy with the use of economic tools, for a uniform financial policy, and selection of managerial cadres according to criteria of professional competence.

This chapter also carries an entry containing a different view of the Solidarnosc-opposition side on the law incorporating some conditions of consolidating the national economy. This side felt that the law contradicted the arrangements of the "round table" concerning the new economic order. The government on the other hand thinks that it constitutes the legal basis for accelerating reformative action.

The sixth chapter refers to overcoming barriers of foreign debt. It reads in part that the common striving of the participants in the "round table" is to heal the national economy and more closely tie it with the global economy.

The stance is to be signed by the co-chairmen of the team on Wednesday, April 5.

Onyszkiewicz News Conference on Roundtable

LD0404223589 Warsaw PAP in English
2208 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 4—"If everything proceeds as expected, 'Solidarnosc' will be registered yet this April," stated Jacek Merkel, a negotiator of the Solidarnosc-opposition side in the trade union pluralism team during a press conference held here today.

Will these expectations materialize, will the plenary "round table" to be held on April 5 conclude with the signing of an agreement—all of this still remains an open matter, according to Janusz Onyszkiewicz. He stated that the main reason for this was the surprising stance of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] Executive Committee on wage indexation. "This may well be not only the political calculation of the OPZZ but more broadly: of a certain formation, one of the trends in the party or forces which want the talks to be broken off," Onyszkiewicz stated. Some ministers who from the very start spoke against any form of indexation are presumably glad at this state of affairs.

Onyszkiewicz added that it flowed from Saturday's TV address of Premier Rakowski that the head of the government tried to lower the rank and outcome of the talks held to-date.

How will the Solidarnosc-opposition side behave on Wednesday? According to Onyszkiewicz this depends on the stance which the National Executive Commission of "Solidarnosc", to hold debates on that day, will adopt. "We are facing a difficult problem: Do we accept agreement without the participation of the OPZZ, bearing in mind that this poses a threat of unrest and escalation of wage demands in workplaces and as a result, also a rise in the wave of protests?"

Commenting on Tuesday's debates of the political team, Onyszkiewicz stated that the negotiated agreement on the Sejm, Senate and the powers for the president pertained to only one term.

Solidarity's Geremek on Roundtable, Elections
AU0404133789 Vienna DER STANDARD in German
4 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with "Solidarity representative" Bronislaw Geremek by Jerzy Gorski in Warsaw: "Without Agreement, No Elections"; date not given]

[Text] Talks between the Polish Government and the opposition have reached a critical point. Historian Bronislaw Geremek is one of the most important advisers to Lech Walesa and a representative of Solidarity at the "roundtable." DER STANDARD correspondent Jerzy Gorski conducted the following interview with him:

DER STANDARD: It seems that the talks at the roundtable have now become deadlocked. The talks between Interior Minister Kiszczak and Walesa have not lead to a breakthrough either.

Geremek: The people are waiting for early decisions that fulfill the necessary minimum of political and social expectations. Nevertheless, the conclusion of the talks had to be postponed because no consensus has been reached on fundamental questions.

DER STANDARD: What are the most important questions?

Geremek: In the social and economic field, it is the automatic wage increase that plays a vital role because of inflation and most families' poor standard of living. The second controversial issue is the damage caused by the introduction of martial law. This damage has to be made up for, in order to make possible the beginning of a process of understanding. Those who were laid off for political reasons at that time should be given the opportunity to resume their work.

The third hot issue lies in the sphere of politics and involves the responsibility of the president vis-a-vis the Senate, the upper house of parliament.

DER STANDARD: If no compromise is reached, would this endanger the parliamentary elections scheduled to take place in June?

Geremek: If the day of the conclusion of the negotiations, namely 5 April, should be postponed, then this would jeopardize the entire process that is linked with the "roundtable." It would then be impossible for Solidarity to accept such an early election day. Either the decisions are made next week and an agreement is concluded, or it will be impossible to hold the parliamentary elections at the scheduled time.

Politburo Meets on Sociopolitical Situation
LD0404200189 Warsaw PAP in English
1821 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 4—The PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau assessed today Poland's socio-political situation.

The meeting discussed the preparations for a plenary meeting of the round table.

State Council Discusses Changes in Constitution
LD0404190889 Warsaw PAP in English
1718 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 4—The Council of State examined here today the motions stemming from the discussion on the draft law on changes in the Constitution of Poland submitted at the meetings of the Sejm, the Sejm Extraordinary Committee and the round table teams.

The Council of State formulated its corrections. The meeting decided to direct the stance on the proposed amendments to the Sejm Extraordinary Committee.

Czazasty Addresses 11th PZPR Plenum

AU0404140089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1-2 Apr 89 p 3

[Speech by Zygmunt Czazasty, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 31 March]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

The accountability campaign being conducted in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] halfway through the current 5-year term of office is drawing to a close. It has taken place under exceptional circumstances: It contains criticism of the 10th Central Committee plenum. In view of the importance of the plenum, not only for the party but for Polish changes as a whole, it is worth pausing for a moment to consider whether views being voiced deep within the party and at primary party organization meetings to some extent prepared the decisions adopted at the 10th plenum. Next, did the decisions elicit a response at town and communal conferences, and finally, did the voivodship conferences follow up the decisions made at the Central Committee meeting? This question is not just a formality. The answer to it confirms or denies whether the programmatic thinking of the party's leading body is in harmony with the aspirations of the party base.

In general, the primary party organization meetings expressed impatience with the slow rate of change in Poland and the effects of the changes, primarily in the form of spiraling prices. There were calls for a clear definition of the social and institutional goals of the economic reform and of the party's new place in the life of the country. The meetings showed that familiarity with the achievements of the fourth, sixth, and eighth Central Committee plenums was quite superficial.

The self-confidence of some party organizations and their ability to perceive their tasks clearly have diminished. However, the high average attendance at meetings and the lively debate that took place at many of them attested to a desire for changes and transformations within the party.

The town and communal conferences coincided with the consultations on the Politburo theses to significant extent. This document—although it was too long and too difficult in parts—played a very important role by informing the aktiv and delegates about the real magnitude of economic and political complications and the pressing need for a very profound shift. The first, energetic moves made by the new government also had a positive, mobilizing effect on the attitudes of the aktiv.

As we know, the actual decisions adopted at the 10th Central Committee plenum drew a mixed response within the party, and it seems that all attempts to attribute these differences to age or region are unreliable. For many comrades, the stance on trade union pluralism seemed to

obscure their perception of all other no less important problems. It played an excessive role in the debates and had a decisive impact on attitudes. Thus, this makes it necessary to communicate the programmatic concept of the plenum and the entire content of the plenum resolution to all party members—this is an important task for the period that will take us up to the national conference of delegates. Without the accomplishment of this task, it is hard to imagine that the party will draw appropriate conclusions from the important political fact of the "roundtable" and to find itself under the new conditions of a pluralism that has been sanctioned.

The entire accountability campaign was accompanied by individual talks, with committees being given a lot of freedom to determine their scheduling. Some committees held the talks before their accountability conferences and others adopted the opposite approach. The talks elicited—as is always the case—a mass of views, thoughts, and suggestions from party full and candidate members. They produced a disparate picture of the state of awareness within the party. It is difficult to make generalizations about the enormous amount of material. The main subject of many of the critical views expressed during the talks was that the wage and market situation had undermined a feeling of security. Attitudes toward the expansion of economic freedoms were generally positive, but they were somewhat tempered by widely voiced fears concerning the expansion of various forms of speculative activity and by the feeling that the socialized sector did not enjoy equality with respect to the sector.

It is not possible to overlook the fact that this kind of reasoning also appeared in party organizations that are reform-minded, such as the organizations at the "Fonica" plant in Lodz, the "Iskra" factory in Kielce, or various plants in Torun.

The individual talks conducted after the 10th plenum have shown that party members are insufficiently aware of the essence of the new stage in national accord. Many of them display a tendency to perceive the political situation in schematic, black-and-white terms. There was no shortage of comrades who doubted whether there was any sense whatsoever in holding the "roundtable" and viewed the session—this was surely primarily based on television reporting—as representing unilateral concessions on the part of the party. This was also how they viewed the abandonment of the principle of "one union in one plant," which had previously enjoyed widespread support within the party.

The current state of and possibilities for party work—this applies both to individual talks and accountability conferences—are also being judged critically. This stems from what is undoubtedly a genuine phenomenon—a decline in the level of activity of a significant number of party members and a lack of consistency and effectiveness in the work of many echelons. This is why there is approval and recognition for the party's reform course, although—in the opinion of the party full and candidate

members who have been taking part in the talks, and conference delegates—it is being implemented too slowly and with a lack of resolve. One can sometimes get the impression that comrades are impatiently waiting for someone "at the top" to arrange things in a new way in their organizations and echelons. In outlining the situation, one can say that the 10th plenum concept that has gotten through to primary party organizations with the least difficulty is the possibility of not holding monthly meetings, but without any effort being made to look for other forms of maintaining the party bond, and in the case of echelons, the idea of holding "open party houses," without consideration given to what might incline people to accept invitations to such open houses.

It is occasionally suggested that there be a renewal of the party membership, a general certification process, but this is surely prompted not so much by genuine concern for the quality of party ranks as by a magical belief that all that is needed to obtain a better level of political form and a higher level of organizational efficiency is a "cleaning up" of what is—without perceiving the need for comprehensive, qualitative change in party life—impossible.

This is all the more important because a trend toward a reduction in party ranks has emerged. We ended last year with 17,000 fewer members, whereas membership had been increasing in recent years. January and February saw the loss of a further 10,500 members. This disturbing phenomenon is most in evidence in industrial voivodships where there are large numbers of workers—Katowice, Krakow, Konin, Lodz, Poznan, Walbrzych, and Warsaw. At the same time, the party is growing older. The average member's age has risen to 46.6, and the number of young people has risen by barely 6.4 percent. One can and should perceive the different and varied reasons, including ones that lie outside the scope of the party, for this state of affairs.

Thus, I see an urgent need for a party offensive that should involve the acceleration and enhancement of party reform-oriented activities geared, on the one hand, to winning over society, and on the other, to the more effective and intellectually more creative communication of the substance of the 10th Central Committee plenum to party organizations in a way that will restore confidence in the power of the party and the sense of its actions.

The Politburo has determined undertakings that are essential for the implementation of the decisions made at the 10th plenum. It has assigned responsibility and determined methods and schedules for the execution of tasks.

The party leadership prepared a PZPR platform for the "roundtable" talks and has analyzed the work of the working groups and assessed, on an ongoing basis, the participation of PZPR representatives, who were granted plenipotentiary powers by it.

In accordance with the 10th plenum decision, plans have been drawn up for a new organizational structure for the Central Committee. They provide for the combining of the activities of Central Committee members, the social aktiv, and the political apparatus. More extensive information on this subject will be provided by Comrade Bogulsaw Kolodziejczak, member of the Central Committee Secretariat.

The party leadership has devoted much attention to disseminating the stance on political and trade union pluralism. An extensive lecture program has been created. The mass media are actively engaged in disseminating the idea. Accountability conferences, especially at the voivodship level, have adopted stances on the 10th plenum decisions. They pledged support for them and determined the tasks stemming from them for their regions.

There have been six regional meetings between primary party organization and factory committee first secretaries (about 1,500) and members of the party leadership. Training at the central level of all communal, town, and similar committee first secretaries is continuing.

The Third Theoretical and Ideological Conference has been held. It developed 10th plenum concepts in many areas, especially with respect to issues such as political pluralism, civic society, socialist parliamentary democracy, the role and place of the opposition in the Polish political system, and changes in the party. This material is being systematically disseminated and will be treated in a generalized form in the material for the National Conference of PZPR Delegates.

The Politburo analyzed the situation in creative, artistic communities and expressed recognition for the clear signs of greater ferment and activity that are manifesting themselves in a spirit of pluralist openness.

In accordance with the decisions adopted at the 10th plenum, work is continuing on bringing about the complete elimination of the remnants of Stalinism in Poland and redressing the injustices experienced by citizens during the years 1937-55, including those experienced by Polish communists.

The national conference of delegates will also address these issues.

We, the Central Committee, are not the only ones concerned about the future of the 10th plenum. This is borne out by, for example, the letter sent to the Central Committee Secretariat by the railroad party organizations in Leszno. It pointed to echelon passivity and sluggishness and appealed that we should not allow the plenum to fail. Similar views are also being received from other party organizations in various ways.

The accountability campaign has shown that—and this is not the first time—great differences exist between organizations and echelons, between ones that often operate near one another and under the same or very similar conditions. We, however, have an otherwise understandable tendency to maintain contacts with good, active organizations, and this situation has to be reversed. We are needed first and foremost where things are being done badly, where work is dragging along, and where there is a lack of energy. We should allow the best, the good organizations to operate independently and help weak organizations, and this help should also involve contact with members of the party's highest bodies. There are no organizations so passive that they do not include at least a few members who are troubled by the sluggishness, but do not offer active opposition because they see no chance of success and feel isolated. They have to be found, supported, and galvanized into action—this is a great and truly ambitious task for the party activist.

Nothing I have said cancels out or diminishes the significance of the tangible increase in activity that occurred in many party organizations and echelons following the 10th plenum.

An examination of the information being received by the Central Committee indicates that various kinds of initiatives concerning changes in the party have been launched since the 10th plenum. This essentially applies to all voivodships, although the extent to which this has been happening varies. Something that is particularly valuable is that about 60 percent of these initiatives arose in basic level echelons. However, there are still too few signals of this kind coming from primary party organizations.

An important area of the modifications being introduced is the search for new, lasting, and not just short-term forms of party work centering on residential areas. This applies to social residential development committees, regional teams attached to echelons, and task groups for solving specific local problems.

Something of similar importance for integrating the party with the community is the transformation of committee headquarters into centers that can be used for local initiatives, especially young people's initiatives, and making party premises available for the activities of some social organizations and associations. Party centers are also places where discussion clubs, including political discussion clubs that bring together representatives of various groups, can hold activities. They are becoming places where views can be exchanged with people who are not party members.

Voivodship and basic level organizations are devoting much innovative effort to enhancing the social character of their activities by way of involving people who are not party members, departing from the idea of replicating

administrative structures, and, above all, by surrounding themselves with a broader party aktiv, and making the decisionmaking process more public.

The idea of creating horizontal party links has elicited a weak response so far—evidently, the stigma attached to the horizontal structures that existed at one time weighs heavily on it. So, bolder use has to be made of the statutory opportunities in this respect, because ties of this kind—regional, production, or intercommunity ties—can significantly increase the efficiency and effectiveness of party activities.

All the initiatives that are appearing concerning the reorganization of the structures, methods, and style of party work are being analyzed. Information that can disseminate ideas or prompt new ideas is being sent to regional committees. Comrades have received condensed information on this subject.

I would also like to tell you that all the suggestions made in 10th Central Committee plenum speeches that were recorded in the protocol and extended beyond the scope of the plenum resolutions have been passed on to the appropriate Central Committee commission and departments. There were also, as comrades no doubt remember, suggestions that went beyond the scope of our statutory powers. These will be included in work preceding the 11th congress by the Central Committee Commission for Party Work.

Comrades, the party accountability campaign will culminate in the national conference of delegates. The Politburo proposes that the conference be held in Warsaw on 4 and 5 May of this year.

The Politburo has established four working groups to prepare the conference: a programmatic group, chaired by Comrade Marian Orzechowski; an accountability group, chaired by Comrade Jozef Czyrek; an organizational group, in which I will be involved; and a decisions group, chaired by Stanislaw Ciosek.

I have deliberately used the word decisions rather than resolutions. I would like to remind you that it is important that the national conference of delegates, like all other accountability conferences, does not have the statutory powers of a ruling body, because this principle is not always correctly understood in the party. Many of the suggestions and requests already being addressed to the national conference of delegates can only be examined at the next party congress. This does not diminish the status of the national conference of delegates. The conference has the power to define and determine the direction of the actions of the entire party within the limits of resolutions currently in force and in accordance with the statute. At the present time, one cannot overestimate the importance of a far-reaching review of the party's strengths and the setting of appropriate priorities

for the second half of the present term of office against the background of the profound political and economic changes taking place in the country.

The 1989 national conference of delegates will lead the PZPR into a period of expanded political pluralism, the great Polish institutional experiment, and a new form of election campaigning for the highest representative bodies.

This indicates the importance of work with delegates, who, in line with the PZPR program and the 10th congress resolution, will be coparticipants in the creation of this experiment and will bear coresponsibility for the party's ability to act as required by the current turning point. The April delegate meetings with the participation of members of the Central Committee leadership should serve this goal. At these meetings, we wish to conduct the main part of our assessment of the implementation of 10th congress resolution so that the accountability element does not dominate the entire national conference. This means that the Central Committee report will have to reach delegates in good time and that another meeting of the Central Committee will have to take place soon to approve the document. These meetings would also provide a way of discussing the main programmatic elements of the National Conference of PZPR Delegates.

In addition, in accordance with the decision of the 10th congress, delegates will receive government proposals concerning changes to the system of social benefits, a party-government commission report on the organizational condition of the economy and the state, and the result of expert findings concerning a model for national education. It is obvious that these documents must take account of the consensus reached on these issues at the "roundtable," which means that deadlines for their completion will be very tight and that delegates will have to conduct a significant amount of preparatory work before the conference.

In view of the upcoming 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, an important anniversary for Poles, it is expected that the conference will recall the tragic and heroic events connected with it, the political background to the war, and the consequences of the victory over fascism. This will have a bearing on our conference' stance on international issues, especially on issues such as peace, disarmament, and European security, in accordance with the Jaruzelski plan.

The conference will accomplish its task if it succeeds in concentrating its attention and intellectual potential on goals for the not too distant future, on indicating potential threats to these goals and ways of overcoming them, and if it gives thought to the future and outlines a vision of Poland in the year 2000. It is important that—not so much or only for propaganda reasons—the party display unity during the national conference of delegates in understanding the line developed by the 10th Central Committee and in the desire to implement it.

It is important that the party is presented as a force acting creatively not for itself, but for the people, for a good future for the people, as a party that struggles for causes, for working people, for the position of the Polish countryside, and for social justice.

The conference will be an appropriate forum for initiating work on changes to the PZPR program and statute, and it was charged with doing this by the 10th Central Committee plenum. It should initiate a broad intellectual search that will precede the 11th party congress.

Finally, one of the conference' special duties is to draw up an offensive-like and socially attractive PZPR election manifesto for the June parliamentary elections.

I emphasize the great importance of this meeting of delegates and propose that the resolution on calling a National Conference of PZPR Delegates be adopted.

News Conference Held on 11th PZPR Plenum

AU0504081789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 1-2 Apr 89 p 3

[Report by Zenon Kulej: "PZPR Central Committee Press Spokesman Conference: There Is Growing Support for the Reform Line"]

[Text] Immediately after the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum, Jan Bisztyga, the newly appointed PZPR Central Committee press spokesman, gave a news conference. Stanislaw Ciosek, Zbigniew Michalek, and Zygmunt Czarzasty replied to questions from journalists.

At the beginning of the conference, Stanislaw Ciosek described the course of Friday's [31 March] meeting and the consultative meeting that preceded it, and he discussed the documents passed at it. He stressed, among other things, that the Central Committee approved the actions of the negotiators at the "roundtable," expressed the hope that a social contract would be concluded, and approved procedures for the selection of party candidates who will stand for election as deputies and senators.

Polish Television: Could you comment on the national conference of delegates?

Z. Czarzasty: All the delegates who attended the 10th PZPR Congress have retained their mandate. At the national conference of delegates they will appraise the reform line for which—I have noticed—support is growing. It is envisaged that the conference will adopt a decision on the elimination of the remnants of Stalinism and a decision pertaining to the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. The party election manifesto should also be an important conference document.

Polish Television: The Solidarity-opposition side at the "roundtable" is constantly saying "we demand guarantees." This sounds like "we do not believe you." I would like to ask whether other sides represented at the "roundtable" are reliable, especially the opposition side?

S. Ciosek: Today it is primarily a question of creating a credible model that will give everyone a feeling that there are guarantees. The elections will be an institution that will foster credibility. I think that goodwill exists on the part of all the partners at the "roundtable." As for demanding "prenuptial agreements" of sorts? That is surely something quite natural. However, I also think that it is time to complete the "roundtable," because if we extend the session it will begin to lose credibility itself.

Polish Radio: The 10th PZPR Central Committee adopted two important documents. Were the activities stemming from this appraised today?

Z. Czarzasty: On the very next day after the 10th plenum, the Central Committee leadership adopted a detailed schedule for activities dealing with who is to do what and who is accountable to whom. We have devoted much effort to communicating the content of the 10th plenum resolutions to all primary party organizations. It is in no way a question of already setting out our achievements today. After all, we are dealing with a long-term process. As for the "Central Committee Stance on Pluralism," which is to be appraised at the national conference of delegates, I think there is an increasingly great understanding within the party of the need for union pluralism.

Polish Television: What was said today about the strikes and the demands coming from people living in the countryside?

Z. Michalek: Comrade Hanna Pilat spoke about this today. Yesterday, at a meeting with 2,000 peasants, she promised that as a member of the Central Committee she would talk about their problems at the plenum. This is, of course, a very important issue. In terms of income ratios, farmers are increasingly at a disadvantage. If we say that the situation in the towns is bad, then the situation in the countryside is even worse. Farming circle activists have held talks with a government commission headed by Vice Premier Olesiak.

What can the government promise? I think that certain decisions will be made in April and May introducing market mechanisms into agricultural production. The position of farmers will improve.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Do you have any forecasts about how the situation will evolve following the roundtable, especially with respect to the conduct of the opposition?

S. Ciosek: I am afraid of the first day after the "roundtable." I think that hopes have become excessive, that "too rosy" a view is being taken. At the "roundtable"

we will only be making a record of those matters that are to be implemented and those that we have not managed to resolve so far. This might sound trite, but the "roundtable" is no substitute for work....

As far as the conduct of the opposition is concerned, I hope that the session will end with agreement on the rules of the game for the elections and for the period preceding them. After that I hope that the system that has been developed will bear fruit, edible fruit!

PRAWO I ZYCIE: Will regional conferences take place before the national conference of delegates?

Z. Czarzasty: We will be organizing regional conferences (beginning 12 April) in order to present accountability material and forecasts and to initiate discussion that will prepare the national conference of delegates decision. The conference itself will only last 2 days. This will be the case for reasons of economy, but also because no team sessions are envisaged. Thus, the regional conferences will enable a greater number of delegates to speak.

GROMADA: You talked about dissatisfaction among people living in the countryside, but people in the towns are also not all that happy. The "roundtable" session will not provide the material basis for an improvement in the mood among both groups. The party leadership should expect criticism at the national conference of delegates. In view of this state of affairs, would it not be better to put off both the conference and the elections?

Z. Michalek: We do not want to put off the conference. The dissatisfaction among farmers that we spoke about stems from the fact that we promised them a "green light," but then in practice things were different.

But what was practice to be like? A green light for one group usually means a red light for another. Meanwhile, everyone in Poland wants to be a priority! After the Sejm elections, I hope we will agree on some rules on how to proceed. However, who should be shown a red light for a time so that we can make more rapid progress in other areas?

Ministerial Talks With Farmers End 31 March
LD3103230689 Warsaw PAP in English
2235 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 31—Two-day talks of the inter-ministerial team with the commission coordinating the protest action of farmers, attended by representatives of protest committees from more than 25 voivodships, wound up here today.

The sides discussed ways of meeting the postulates which were presented on behalf of the protesting farmers by the National Union of Farmers and rural circles and organizations.

After long, heated discussions which focused particularly on economic problems of agriculture the sides reached an agreement concerning the way of taking measures aimed at gradual settlement of the problems raised.

Partial List of Katyn Victims Published

LD2403100789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0730 GMT 24 Mar 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] The occasional HISTORIA I ZYCIE supplement to ZYCIE WARSZAWY has been published today. It includes, among other things, the start of the Kaytn list [first published in London in the late 1940's]. The list contains the names of the earliest exhumed victims of the Katyn atrocity and includes in all 403 listings, of which 373 include the names of exhumed and identified victims, most often with identificatory detail. 29 listings of the details of insufficient particulars of unidentified victims, and one list containing 53 names. The list is published according to the original wording. It is, note the editors, in many cases erroneous, especially in relation to names of persons and places, as the documents discovered were often barely legible.

SFRY's Dizdarevic To Visit 'Mid-April'

LD0404191189 Warsaw PAP in English
1727 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 4—President of the collective Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Raif Dizdarevic will pay an official visit of friendship to Poland in mid-April at the invitation from President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Belgian Premier Ends Official Part of Visit

LD3103122389 Warsaw PAP in English
1019 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 31—Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens who has ended the official part of his visit to Poland, was bidden farewell by his Polish counterpart Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at the Okęcie Airport this morning.

The programme of Mr. Martens's further visit provides for his trip to Krakow and the tour of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the former Nazi concentration camp.

Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans who was accompanying Premier Wilfried Martens to Poland has left for Brussels.

Rakowski Receives Macedonian Official

LD3103172989 Warsaw PAP in English
1637 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 31—Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received today Gligory Gogovski, chairman of the Macedonian Executive Council, to discuss prospects for cooperation between Poland and Yugoslavia.

Gogovski and Jaroslaw Pietrzyk, president of the central city of Lodz, who attended the meeting, briefed the premier on decisions concerning direct cooperation between Macedonia and the Lodz Voivodship and between Skopje and Lodz.

The sides also exchanged information on the economic and socio-political situation in both countries.

Also today Gligory Gogovski was received by Co-Chairman of the Polish-Yugoslav Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Vice Premier Kazimierz Olesiak.

Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek who also met with the Yugoslav official briefed him on measures connected with the reforming and restructuring of the Polish industry and new conditions created for foreign investors. Both officials discussed the state and directions of Polish-Yugoslav co-production and possibilities of expanding it as well as of setting up joint ventures.

Jaruzelski, Siwicki Attend Scout Congress

LD0204090689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0600 GMT 2 Apr 89

[From the "Military Magazine" program]

[Excerpts] The 26th Congress of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) ended its meeting. [passage omitted] Among the participants was an 18-strong delegation representing military instructors. Among others, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, and Army General Florian Siwicki, chairman of the Main Council of the Friends of Scouting, were the guests of the Scouts.

People's Legislative Chamber Called 14 April
AU0404174889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1705 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/4/1989—Under a presidential decree signed by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, the People's Councils' Legislative Chamber is called for April 14, 1989.

Grand National Assembly Session Called 17 April
AU0404174989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1706 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/4/1989—Under a decree of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Ninth Grand National Assembly (the parliament) is called in its ninth session on April 17, 1989, at 10:00 hours.

Anniversary of Ceausescu's Presidency Marked

Papers Publish 'Festive Editions'

AU0104191589

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 28 March put out special festive editions, each devoting four out of their six pages to editorials, articles, poems, and reports, totaling about 16,000 words to the 15th anniversary of Ceausescu's election to the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The homage-paying display appears in SCINTEIA under the headline "To the Great Hero of Our Homeland, to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of Our Party and President of Socialist Romania, the Ardent Homage of the Whole Nation." In ROMANIA LIBERA the tributes appear under the headline "Long Live the Indestructible Unity of Our Whole Nation Around the Party and Its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu," printed in red, as are some other headlines, such as "Always Together With the People" or "President Nicolae Ceausescu—Brilliant Promoter of Ideals of Peace, Independence, and Progress" (in SCINTEIA) and "The Country Is Paying Homage to Its President," "Founder of a New Country," and "Glorious Achievements" (in ROMANIA LIBERA). Both dailies carry on the front page a heavily retouched photograph of Ceausescu, wearing the presidential sash and holding the scepter, (the photograph measuring 8 by 6 inches in SCINTEIA and 7 by 5 inches in ROMANIA LIBERA), next to a 2,000-word homage-paying editorial in a red box "The Party, the Homeland, and the People in Complete and Unanimous Unity" in SCINTEIA and to a 2,400-word editorial "With Feelings of Great Honor and Profound Gratitude, the Country Is Paying Homage to Its President" in ROMANIA LIBERA. Among all the resounding headlines the subhead of the SCINTEIA editorial is the first one to mention the actual event that is being celebrated, namely "15 years have passed since 28 March 1974, when, through the will of the whole party and of our whole

nation, our party secretary general, the most important son of our people, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was elected to the highest state office and became the first president of Romania." The "radical changes on profound revolutionary and democratic bases" that have taken place in the years since Ceausescu became Romania's president are widely praised, and pledges of "new directions of action" to improve activity in all areas are described in both editorials.

Several articles, ranging between 400 and 800 words, signed by workers, directors of various enterprises, peasants, and students carried in both dailies credit Ceausescu with all possible "virtues" in all spheres and, under the headline "The Society of Free Labor, Led Freely by Its Builders" printed in red, SCINTEIA devotes its entire page 3 to short reports on Ceausescu's visits over the years to various enterprises and agricultural farms, next to pictures of his visiting the people during these visits.

Both dailies devote the last page to short reports on the international activities carried out by Ceausescu "for the assertion of new principles in interstate relations," "for halting the arms race and achieving disarmament," "for building a united Europe of security and cooperation," and "for building a new international economic order." The same page carries pictures of 10 Ceausescu volumes put out in several languages that prove "the high appreciation and great interest for the theoretical and practical work of the Romanian president" as well as "his tireless efforts to affirm the great ideals of peace, freedom, and progress."

Editorial Praises Leader

AU0304180889

[Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA No 13 in Romanian on 30 March is published in a festive edition in red to mark the 15th anniversary of Ceausescu's election as president of the Socialist Republic of Romania on 28 March 1974. The cover of LUMEA displays an 8 by 6 inch portrait of a much younger Ceausescu, the caption of which is in white block print on a red background and reads as follows: "To the President of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—the Homage of the Whole Nation."

Pages 1-3 carry a 4,000-word editorial bearing the same headline as the cover of the weekly, as well as the following main subtitle: "A Dynamic, Principled, and Profoundly Constructive Foreign Policy." The editorial praises Romania's international activity and emphasizes that "one of the undeniable merits of our party and state leader is the clear definition of the situation and great imperatives of the present-day era." It points out that Romania's foreign policy "serves both the vital interests of our nation, as well as the cause of socialism, peace, and progress throughout the world." It further deals with Romania's "complex and comprehensive disarmament program" and emphasizes the importance of "a united

Europe in its diversity of social systems," and the need to ensure "security and the development of broad cooperation" in Europe, including the Balkans.

Page 3 also carries two photographs—one 5 by 5 inches, the other 4 and ½ by 5 inches—the first one depicting Ceausescu talking to a group of miners, the second showing him shaking hands with one member of a group of workers. The caption of the two photographs reads: "With the People for the People; With the Nation for the Nation."

Ceausescu Receives Warsaw Pact Generals
AU0404145589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1433 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/4/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Tuesday, 4 April, Army General P.G. Lushev, commander-in-chief of the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty states, and Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the joint Armed Forces, who paid a visit to Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed most sincere greetings and well-wishes from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Nicolae Ceausescu was also conveyed a warm salute from the Soviet defence minister, Army General D.T. Yazov.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and requested that his warm salute and best wishes be conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev. He also conveyed greetings and best wishes to the Soviet defence minister.

A talk was held on the occasion, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

The interview was attended by Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defence, and Major General Stefan Gusa, first deputy minister and chief of staff.

Messages, Reception Mark Hungary's National Day
AU0304183889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1750 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/4/1989—RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu sent a telegram to Karoly Grosz, Bruno F. Straub and Miklos Nemeth on the 44th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascism, addressing congratulations and best wishes for progress and prosperity to the leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian People's Republic as well as the Hungarian people.

On the occasion, reasserted in the telegram is the conviction that with joint effort the relations of collaboration and good neighbourliness between the two countries, based on the observance of the principles of fully equal rights, independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage will grow in future, in the interest of the Romanian people and the Hungarian people, of the cause of socialism and peace.

On the same occasion the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, the leadership of some political and mass organizations, ministries and central institutions in Romania addressed congratulatory telegrams to the president of the National Assembly and to similar organizations and institutions in the Hungarian People's Republic.

On 3 April, the Bucharest ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic, Pal Szuts, laid a floral wreath at the Memorial to the Heroes of the Struggle for the Freedom of the People and the Homeland, for Socialism, on the occasion of the 44th celebration of Hungary's liberation from fascism.

On the 44th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascism, that country's Bucharest ambassador, Pal Szuts, gave a cocktail party on Monday, 3 April. Participating were Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Ion Sirbu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, ministers, members of the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries and central institutions, members of mass and public organizations, scientists, men of letters and the arts, generals and officers, journalists.

Participating were heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Romania and members of the diplomatic corps.

Remzi Koljgeci Resigns as Kosovo President

LD0504132389 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] We have just received the news that the president of the Kosovo Presidency, Remzi Koljgeci, today submitted his resignation from that post because of objective and, [words indistinct] stresses, personal responsibility for the situation in that province. The resignation of Koljgeci was accepted by the Kosovo Presidency, which appointed Bajram Seljani acting president of the Presidency of the province [words indistinct].

Secretariat Assesses YPA Action in Kosovo

LD0304172389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—Assessments were made of the achievements in combat readiness preparations and of the moral-political situation in the Armed Forces, and tasks concerning this were set out during a routine session of the Military Council of the Federal Secretariat of National Defense held in Belgrade today under the chairmanship of Federal Secretary Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic. The evaluation was made that the life, work, and modernization of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and of our armed forces last year are, to a considerably greater extent than before, under the impact of negative trends in our society, which have been manifested in the growth of destructive and disintegratory processes at various levels of our social life. The threats emanating from nationalism, which is threatening to turn into uncontrolled intranational conflicts with unforeseeable consequences, are more than anything else coming to fore, it was stressed.

Despite this, and thanks to the exceptional efforts of the whole YPA system, the ideopolitical unity, motivation, training, and commitment of Army members has been maintained, and this, coupled with constant mobility dictated by the development of the events in the country, make it possible for all main tasks to be carried out successfully. In conditions of major material difficulties, this was made possible by also consistently respecting the principle of rationality and by relying on our own potentials.

In our society, it was stressed, the Army is a powerful factor of stability. Its reputation is in line with its lofty capabilities and proven Yugoslav orientation. This intensifies the responsibility of its members to preserve this reputation throughout the Yugoslav area. The enrichment of forms and content of cooperation with all the subjects of our society is required. This applies in particular to the organizations of vital interest for the functioning of the Federal Executive Council, because it constitutes a sure sign that creative forces exist in the country which, with its ideas and development projects, can become an active force in overcoming the economic

and political crisis. YPA members are strongly committed to the program, and social reform, unceasing rationalization of expenditure, and intensified efficiency of combat-training constitute a direct contribution to the reform requirements needed to overcome the crisis. These efforts are also inseparable from the function of updating and modernizing (our) defense and self-protection system. The demands which the current situation is placing before the Army are not light. The Army is required to be a model of organization, efficiency, responsibility, and security guarantees for our society and its strength a prop for our people and a warning to all enemies, which, with every means, are attacking the integrity of Yugoslavia, fundamental achievements of our revolution, Tito, the all-people's defense system, and the YPA.

The army, with sentiments of satisfaction and optimism, welcomes the program and substance of the work of our armed forces.

Special attention in the discussion was paid to the events in Kosovo. In his statement, the federal secretary of national defense paid tribute to YPA members in Kosovo for successfully carrying out the tasks they had been assigned. He stressed that the YPA units in Kosovo had directly precluded the serious crisis from turning into intranational conflicts of wider dimensions, the consequences of which would have been impossible to predict. The latest events in that province and the attempt by Albanian separatists to spread terror show that nationalism and nationalist indoctrination had been developed to the point of fanaticism in the case of a sector of young people.

As a democratic community of free and equal nations and nationalities, Yugoslavia ensures integrity, freedom, and dignity for all people. At the same time, it is resolute and consistent in preserving its constitutional system, legality, and integrity. Whoever dares threaten these values will be foiled.

In the present situation, after the constitutional changes in Serbia have been adopted, there must be more political work in Kosovo in order to reestablish the shaken intranational confidence and trust among the people so that all the people in Kosovo—Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others—can be equal in every respect. Production must be organized and life regulated consistently in line with the SFRY Presidency measures.

In this context, it was stressed, the YPA will do everything in its power, but it expects more efficient action by the most responsible state and political organs.

Life in Kosovo Reportedly Returning to Normal

LD0504054289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0510 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, April 4 (TANJUG)—Tension in Yugoslavia's southern autonomous province of Kosovo, the scene of recent turmoil triggered by greater Albanian separatists, has started to ease and no incidents were reported over the past few days.

Yugoslavia's state Presidency introduced special measures in Kosovo, which is part of the Republic of Serbia, on February 27 following demonstrations and strikes by ethnic Albanians which brought the province to the verge of a general strike. Despite this, Albanian separatists staged seven-day demonstrations in late March in which two policemen and 22 demonstrators were killed.

Examinations started today at all Kosovo universities and colleges and the student turnout is mostly satisfactory. Classes were suspended at schools and universities seven days ago under a decision of the Kosovo government and there are no indications when they will be resumed.

Claims that some Pristina University professors have been arrested have been denied today in Belgrade by Serbian Minister of Science and Education Danilo Markovic.

Markovic believes that the main problem in Pristina University is how to give it a Yugoslav character, in view of the fact that most of the classes are held in Albanian and very few in Serbo-Croatian. Pristina University graduates have difficulties in finding jobs elsewhere in Yugoslavia because they only speak Albanian, and job opportunities in Kosovo itself are very scarce because of the high unemployment rate.

A large number of forest fires have been reported in Kosovo over the past few days. Shortly after a fire near Pristina was put out, another one broke out in the Podujevo Commune. Fires were also reported in the vicinity of three villages.

An ominous lull is reigning in the village of Zur only three km from the Yugoslav-Albanian border—the site of violent clashes between Albanian separatists and security forces.

A poster with a frightening message appeared this morning in the village whose population totals 7,000. The hand-written text contains detailed instructions for Zur residents who are mostly ethnic Albanians. It says who should be expelled from the village or "removed" from office, who is to be killed and whose house is to be set on fire. The list names ten ethnic Albanians who are obviously in the way of separatists.

These and other threats listed on the poster are probably the most serious announcement of the intentions and tactics of greater Albanian separatists, whose ultimate goal is to proclaim a republic of Kosovo and annex it to Albania. The announcement confirms the fears of possible individual actions and direct conflicts between Kosovo residents.

Kosovo Presidency Criticizes 'Disinformation'
AU0504082389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 89 p 6

[TANJUG report: "After Weapons, the Enemy Uses Disinformation"]

[Text] Pristina 31 Mar—At their session yesterday, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Provincial Council for Questions Concerning the Protection of the Constitutional Order took the view, as reported today, that in spite of the relative tranquility of the situation in the last 2 days and the normalization of work and production, especially at the Stari Trg mine, the political and security situation remains fraught. This calls for great vigilance and readiness for vigorous measures to protect the public peace and the constitutional order of our country.

Various kinds of disinformation launched by nationalist and hostile forces in recent days encumber this situation further. These concern an allegedly much larger number of persons killed and injured than officially stated, mostly including women and children, concern the alleged cruelty of those in uniform, and all sorts of other things; their aim is psychological war, and to spread resistance among innocent and ill-informed sections of the population who did not take part in the events instigated by the Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Belief in such disinformation, as the Presidency and the council declared, merely causes harm, and it must be rejected with the utmost determination as untrue and malicious, because those who spread it seek to transform Kosovo into a hotbed of interethnic conflict, with disastrous consequences for the future of all our peoples and nationalities, and the Albanians most of all.

Therefore, on this occasion, the Presidency and the council call for members of all the peoples and nationalities—pupils, students, young people, the working class, and all progressive people—to sincerely and determinedly commit themselves to the stabilization of the general situation in Kosovo in these difficult and crucial times for our country, to overcome the tragic consequences of the hostile demonstrations, and to prevent those who are ignorant and have been manipulated from being indoctrinated with Albanian nationalism and separatism, above all in work with young people who have been and must remain faithful to social progress.

Islamic Bodies Appeal for Peace in Kosovo
LD3003150489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Today the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Community and the Supreme Council of Elders in the SFRY sent an appeal calling on all their organs, clerks, and members in our country to commit themselves most energetically in their own milieu so that the consequences of the dramatic

events in Kosovo and the difficult situation in the country as a whole may be overcome and alleviated. The appeal was signed by Hadzi Hafiz Husein Mujic, Reis-Ul-Ulema of the Islamic Community, and Hadzi Idriz Demirovic, president of the assembly of this religious community.

The integral text of the appeal reads:

"On the occasion of the dramatic events in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the difficult situation in the country as a whole, members of the Supreme Islamic Council of Elders and the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Community are sending an appeal resulting from their 29 and 30 March sessions in Belgrade to all their organs, clerks, and members of the Islamic community in the SFRY, especially organs, clerks, and members of the Islamic community in the Kosovo SAP, calling for the most energetic commitment in their own milieu and maximum efforts for overcoming and eradicating the existing conflicts, unrest, and tension at both the national and confessional levels, and to ensure that life continues in the spirit of brotherhood, unity, and equality of all our nations and nationalities.

"Aware of our common fate and the fact that the only way we can live here is in harmony and unity, we condemn Albanian nationalism and irredentism, which recently have led to bloodshed and human tragedy, as well as all other kinds of nationalism and separatism that divide us, bring about conflicts, and break up all our true gains and achievements.

"Religion teaches us that all men are God's creatures and that as such they should and must be loved and respected regardless of religious, national, class, or any other belonging or conviction, and that love for one's country is at the same time a strict religious obligation. We must fight with all our strength for this love, peace, and our common happiness, and must not allow anyone to sow dissent among us, divide us, and shed the blood of our brothers, neighbors, and friends. The Supreme Islamic Council of Elders and the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Community in the SFRY include this appeal in the program activities of their organs and clerks, especially in the territory of the Kosovo SAP, demanding that it be implemented as soon and as consistently as possible so that peace may be restored among us and so that we all may strive in our working duties toward the development of religious life and the progress of the country, the development and progress of Yugoslavia based on brotherhood and unity, and on the principles of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia.

Speedy Solution to Kosovo Problem Demanded
AU0404150389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
30 Mar 89 p 1

[Ivan Torov commentary: "Kosovo-Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Regardless of the uncertainty and anxiety which has become entrenched in the minds of people in the last few days, it is clear that the Kosovo tragedy cannot be

stopped just because we want it to stop, but will stop when we stop the inexorable and, as we have seen, irreconcilably dangerous political war on the wider Yugoslav front.

One could go on forever discussing whether the emergency measures were needed in Kosovo or not; they are there, whether we like it or not. The reasons for them were certainly there. The real culprits responsible for the Kosovo drama turning into a tragedy are undoubtedly the erroneous, unrealistic, and imprudent policy that has been carried out for years, as well as the moves of the politicians who, frightened of their own capitulation, forced intolerance, antagonism, and even hatred on the people.

Therefore, failing to realize that the Kosovo problem can only be resolved if we first resolve our greatest riddle, Yugoslavia, could result in a new, even bigger mistake in a series of mistakes that have been made over a long period of time.

Slovene writers could be against the emergency measures in Kosovo and could demand the resignation of their delegates in the federation, Serbian writers could break off their relations with all those who disagree with them, and some newspapers and communities could demand that emergency measures also be introduced in some republics according to the "Kosovo recipe...." There could be tens or hundreds of such demands. All this will not, however, make the people see the light, nor will it help them to soothe the collective Yugoslav guilty conscience about Kosovo. This will not stop the tragic reality in Kosovo from being used by many people as a welcome reason for settling some of their accounts, for their plans, and for their omissions.

All those who care about peaceful, dignified, and cooperative life, life without impositions, nationalist envy, egoism, and narcissism, all those who find homogenization and hegemony alien, would be the happiest if the introduction of emergency measures in Kosovo did not have to happen. However, since the emergency measures are there, since they are our reality, it is the duty of all of us, and above all of politicians, to do our utmost so that the emergency measures stay in force as short a period of time as possible and with as few tragic consequences as possible.

We need a united (but not unitarian or broken up) Yugoslavia with a development-political strategy whose fate will not depend only on the will, mood, and temporary or long-term interests of the politicians in power. We need a Yugoslavia which will ultimately, in the interest of its integration, remove everything that hinders it so that it can finally sail into the more stable and calm waters of new and modern society.

Only this kind of unifying logic can contribute to the final solution of Yugoslavia's problems, and thus Kosovo's problems. Anything else would inevitably lead to the spreading of Kosovo's fire.

Pristina Municipal Assembly Elects New President
LD0404134789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0925 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—Beginning today, the new president of the Pristina Municipal Assembly is Zivojin Mitrovic, who up to now has been secretary and acting president of the Pristina League of Communists [LC] Municipal Committee Presidium. The function of head of the Pristina Municipality for the next year will be carried out by Mitrovic, because the outgoing president of the municipal assembly was elected member of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Presidency.

At today's session of the Pristina Municipal Assembly, Hajredin Bujupi, head of the security center, told delegates about the recent demonstrations in Pristina on 23, 26 and 27 March. In those demonstrations, 8 policemen were seriously injured and 13 members of the security forces received minor injuries. In clashes with the security organs, 5 demonstrators died, 11 were wounded by firearms, and 8 participants in the hostile demonstrations were injured in other ways, said Bujupi.

Pristina Firm To Publish Serbo-Croatian Paper
LD3000150800 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Summary] Pristina, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—The JEDINSTVO publishing organization in Pristina will be publishing a monthly teacher's paper in Serbo-Croatian at the beginning of the coming academic year. The Albanian-language teachers' paper, SKENDIJA, has been published for decades.

Milosevic Proposed for Serbian Presidency
LD0404131789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 April (TANJUG)—At a joint session today the Presidia of the Socialist Alliance, the LC [League of Communists], the trade unions, and the young people of Belgrade supported the proposal that Slobodan Milosevic be put forward as candidate for president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Milosevic is put forward as candidate for this post, said Dr Rados Smiljkovic, president of the Belgrade LC City Committee, by the results achieved and by the people of the capital city, while at the same time his election to that post would represent the best guarantee for the realization of the aims which have been set.

Serbia Wants Emergency Status for LCY Congress
LD0404150889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 4 (TANJUG)—Serbia's party leadership insists that the next congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), due at the end of the year, should have emergency status because, in its view, the situation in the country calls for just such a gathering.

A document prepared for the next session of the Serbian Central Committee and released today says that the membership's justified calls for an emergency congress are chiefly the outcome of the ineptitude of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidency.

This incompetence is reflected in a powerlessness to implement reform, solve economic and political crisis and crush the counter-revolution in Kosovo, it is said.

The document recalls that there had been rank-and-file requests for an emergency congress even before the Vojvodina Communists, exercising their full statutory rights, formulated such a request at their emergency provincial conference.

The party membership even demands that an emergency congress should be held as soon as possible, without waiting for year's end. They are impatient because they are not pleased with the recent personnel changes in the LCY Central Committee and therefore want a new, united, bureaucracy-free and morally cleaner Central Committee, the document says.

The republican leadership, however, considers that the congress should not be rushed because in addition to electing a new Central Committee it is to initiate sweeping social reforms.

The document also stresses that an end cannot be put to the LC monopoly by creating room for opposition parties. The Serbian party leadership considers that the only way to strip the League of Communists of power is through a new socialist alliance within which a democratic front for all socialist forces' action would develop.

The Serbian LC CC will most probably decide in favour of the proposal on the election of more candidates for the forthcoming LCY congress than at the last regular 13th congress, so as to enable a direct and decisive influence of the membership on the LCY policy.

An answer to the dilemma—regular, early or emergency congress—should be given by the LCY at its session set for April 12. Until then the republican Central Committees are to decide on one of these variants.

The Republic of Montenegro party Central Committee adopted its stand a few days ago—the LCY congress should be an emergency one.

Active Role for Serbia in Foreign Policy Urged
*LD0304214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 3 Apr 89*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—Serbia should assume a more active role in the formulation of Yugoslav foreign policy and energetically raise the question of our minorities in neighboring countries. This was stressed at today's joint session of two sections of the Belgrade SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] City Conference—for international relations and for intranational relations—where relations between Yugoslavia and its neighboring countries were considered. [passage omitted]

Vote for Montenegrin President Questioned
*AU0504082189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
31 Mar 89 p 6*

[TANJUG report: "A Mistake in the Procedure"]

[Text] Titograd, 30 Mar—A big mistake was made in the procedure for the election of Dr Branko Kostic as the new president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. According to all theoretical and practical criteria, the voting between the three candidates for this post had to be carried out under the one-two-three system and not as it was done at the session of the republican assembly.

This view was voiced by Momir Bulatovic, president of the Committee for the Preparation of the Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro, at a discussion forum at the Titograd aluminum combine in answer to a question on the results of the voting by delegates at the Montenegrin Assembly for the president of the Presidency of this republic.

Let us remind ourselves that the new president of the Presidency of Montenegro was recently elected in the second round of voting because not one of the three candidates (Dr Branko Kostic, Dr Milos Radulovic, and Dr Ljubisa Stankovic) received the necessary majority in the first round. It was decided that another vote should be taken on Dr Branko Kostic (because he received the most votes in the first round), and he was elected in the second round of voting as president of the Montenegrin Presidency.

In Bulatovic's opinion, after the first round of voting, the assembly delegates should have voted on two candidates. This principle was, after all, applied in further voting for members of the Presidency, because those members who did not receive enough votes in the first round went into the second round of voting for the members; however, this method was not used because a vote was held only on one candidate.

The ballot in the Montenegrin Assembly revealed a new fact, stressed Bulatovic. By looking at its composition, the question can really be asked—is this really a people's

assembly when it contains almost 50 delegates who are professional employees? This is one-third of the entire number of delegates in the republican parliament. Obviously, these delegates do not have much interest in speeding up the assembly voting process because this would mean that they would then be left without personal incomes; therefore, according to Bulatovic, the voting procedure is slowed down.

In any case, no one should be lynched for these errors, but one should analyze what really happened, and draw lessons from this for future activity, concluded Bulatovic.

Slovene Presidium Discusses Congress Preparations
*AU0304194489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
28 Mar 89 p 4*

[TANJUG report: "Narrow Framework of Precocity"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Mar—There is no reason to hold an extraordinary congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia; therefore, the planned 11th congress that will take place at the end of November of this year will only be an early congress of the Communists from this republic. This was stated today at a session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium. The members of the Presidium tried to determine more specifically the substance of the congress and frequently spoke about the document concerning the renewal of the Slovene LC, which is already being discussed.

Milan Kucan stressed that one cannot speak of the renewal of the LC outside the social context. Therefore, the congress of the Slovene Communists, Kucan said, must answer one key question: What social reforms does the Slovene LC want, and what should its role in these reforms be?

Favoring more fundamental and rapid preparations for the congress, demanded by an earlier date for the congress, the members of the Presidium expressed different views on whether the organizational preparations should be conducted by a special committee (which was the case before the last congress), or by the Presidium itself.

The decision about this and a number of other details concerning the substance and date of the congress, as well as those concerning the cadre, will be adopted at the Slovene LC Central Committee session scheduled for 7 April.

Not disputing the Vojvodina LC's right to propose the convening of an extraordinary congress of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], the Presidium assessed that there are not real and well-argued reasons for this. Some participants in the discussion said that the explanation for this initiative is not convincing and that it is not realistic to expect that the extraordinary congress will eliminate the accumulated difficulties and aggravated relations in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia overnight.

Tina Tomlje stressed that some differences concerning political pluralism or the counterrevolution in Kosovo are so great that it would be impossible to achieve a constructive synthesis in the LCY through such a congress.

Franci Pivec said that the explanation for launching this initiative blames the LC for bureaucracy and for being alienated from the people, the working class, etc., inferring that this does not apply to one section of the LCY. One section of the LCY has been indicated as the reason for holding an extraordinary congress, and therefore, Pivec said, the congress has been announced as some kind of showdown.

Lenart Setinc warned about the possible consequences of holding an improperly prepared extraordinary congress and about the possibility of this congress causing a schism in the LCY. In Setinc's view, all the main reasons mentioned for convening an extraordinary congress could be dealt with by an early congress; therefore, the real reason for calling for an extraordinary congress is prestige. The key question, the participants in the discussion said, is whether the congress will contribute to the ideopolitical synthesis in the LCY.

Drnovsek Urges Market-Oriented Economy

LD0304183889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1733 GMT 3 Apr 89

[By Borislav Korkodelovic]

[Text] Belgrade, April 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is as of mid-May most likely to have its hitherto young state Presidency president, Dr Janez Drnovsek, 39, whom voters in the country's north-western Republic of Slovenia picked as their choice for the republic's representative in the Yugoslav state Presidency in a referendum held today.

The final decision on the nomination of Dr Drnovsek, a doctor of economics, to the post in the Yugoslav state Presidency is to be taken by the Assembly of Slovenia, the republic whose turn it is now to take over the Presidency of Yugoslavia's collective head of state. Since it is hardly likely that the Slovenia Assembly will disregard the electorate's opinion, Dr Drnovsek is most likely to be acclaimed a member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, together with one representative from each of the other five republics and the two autonomous provinces, by the Assembly of Yugoslavia in Belgrade on May 15.

Dr Drnovsek is known as a strong supporter of a market-oriented economy, of economic and social reforms and a reform of the League of Communists of the party's democratization and an end to its monopoly in society. Dr Drnovsek advocates a further democratization of the electoral system (elections are still indirect in the largest number of cases in most of the country), of the autonomy of courts and a European orientation. He declares himself a 100 percent "civilist."

Quite in keeping with his profession, Dr Drnovsek named his election campaign program "Convertible Dinar", believing that the Yugoslav national currency should become convertible in the next five years.

In the conditions of an annual inflation rate of 400 percent, the dinar has daily been growing weaker against the major world currencies. Dr Drnovsek suggests that the most distinguished Yugoslav and, if necessary, even foreign experts should be engaged to draw up an anti-inflation programme.

Dr Drnovsek believes that the entire economy should be directed to domestic and foreign competition and, which he views as especially important, that politics should not meddle in financial affairs. He believes that new regional economic accords should be acknowledged, closer ties established with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and membership sought in the Council of Europe.

In his election campaign, Dr Drnovsek suggested that a five-year-adjustment period be proposed to the European Community. He also called for the conversion of Yugoslav foreign debts into a transportation infra-structure, in which many European countries are interested.

Dr Drnovsek lent support to the federal government of Premier Ante Markovic, as a market-oriented one. He believes that the Yugoslav state Presidency must assist the federal government if the latter is blocked in its work.

Drnovsek maintains that economic processes must keep step with the successes of political democratization. That is why he supports political pluralism, which he says is a reality but needs organizationally to be shaped.

Dr Drnovsek, who is most likely to head the Yugoslav state Presidency until mid-May 1990, believes that the collective head of state must ensure consensus on all major directions of the country's development. The Yugoslav state Presidency should in his opinion try to ease the differences between the Yugoslav republics and provinces, their nations and nationalities, languages, scripts and religions, "in which way the extremist politicians will lose ground for the further straining of the conflicts," as he says.

As far as the currently most acute problem in Yugoslavia—the troubled southern measures introduced in that province will not be in effect for long, that the situation in the province will calm down and accent be shifted to economic issues.

Referring to the Yugoslav People's Army, whose supreme commander the Yugoslav state Presidency is, Dr Drnovsek sets out that the Armed Forces need to be further rationalized and updated and also enabled to have as much educated personnel as possible.

In his election campaign programme, Dr Drnovsek set out that "Yugoslavia should remain non-aligned" but that Yugoslavia's prestige in the world did not depend only on its activities in the movement of non-aligned countries but also on its internal economic and political stability.

Dr Drnovsek believes that the movement of 102 non-aligned countries and liberation organizations should devote its energies primarily to helping the (?search) for common paths of development to the developed and developing countries of the world. Dr Janez Drnovsek, if elected Yugoslav state president, will take over the chairmanship of the movement of non-aligned countries at the non-aligned summit to be held in Belgrade in early September this year.

BORBA Interviews Drnovsek on Crisis, Debt
LD0404113589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0941 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 4 (TANJUG)—Dr Janez Drnovsek (39), who should in mid-May step in as the head of the Yugoslav Presidency for the following year's time, has told the Belgrade daily BORBA that he had made a firm resolve to insist on a search for a common language by all the country's federal units with the aim of overcoming its economic and political problems.

I shall offer to all a line of cooperation and calming down of the current political passions, in order for us to jointly find a way out of the crisis, Drnovsek said in the interview, which appears in today's issue of the daily.

The interview is one of Drnovsek's first statements to the press after the official announcement of his victory at yesterday's referendum in the Republic of Slovenia, in which he defeated the other candidate, Marko Bulc (63).

Under the existing principle of annual rotation at the helm of the state Presidency it was the turn this year of the representative from Slovenia to head it, so that the electorate of Yugoslavia's most developed republic in post-war Yugoslavia's first direct and secret elections for such a high post by pure chance voted for none other than for the country's president.

I believe that my moderate stance has gained the acceptance of Slovenians, which is proof that they are ready to cooperate with the rest of the country in the search for a common language, Drnovsek said, adding that he hoped all of Yugoslavia would take his victory to mean the same.

Drnovsek, who is one of Yugoslavia's best-known experts on the question of the debt crisis, said he would do all in his might to reduce the country's foreign debt and for Yugoslavia to enter into new debtor programmes with its own initiatives.

He said he hoped his experience in this field would assist Yugoslavia in establishing a dialogue with its creditors and debtors on an equal footing and finding solutions which would be of benefit to it.

At the forthcoming non-aligned countries' summit in Belgrade, which should be chaired by Drnovsek as head of state of the country chairing the movement, "as many concrete actions as possible should be found for overcoming the common problems of the movement, especially the debt crisis," Drnovsek said.

Commentary Outlines Tasks of President-Designate
AU0404153089 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1700 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Gojko Brvar commentary]

[Text] As is known, 39-year-old Janez Drnovsek will take over as head of state on 15 May. Thus, he will become the first among equals in the SFRY Presidency. In the present situation, this will probably be a very thankless task, Gojko Brvar says in his commentary:

According to Drnovsek, the new president will get most of his gray hairs because of the economic situation. He will be flanked by a rather resolute premier—the SFRY Presidency president must above all ensure that he has his hands free, unless the SFRY Assembly ensures that he does, so that he will be able to help pick up the brickbats that will be thrown at the premier, and at the same time not lose his nerve because of the acute consequences and the social upheavals that a consistent implementation of the market economy may bring in the initial months.

Drnovsek's hair will be affected much more by the Kosovo problem, although it seems that in his initial term of office, the situation there may stabilize to some extent. Why? It is pretty obvious that a large proportion of the Albanian people in Kosovo are convinced that the present SFRY Presidency bears its share of responsibility for the deterioration in Kosovo. It is therefore not very likely that pacification will result from any activity by the present Presidency during its current term. The image of the present state leadership is simply connected with the emergency measures and with apparently yielding to one of the sides in the dispute. In other words, in its present term, the Presidency cannot do more than it has done.

New people at the head of the state, by being new, offer hope for a solution. Depending on the moves they make, this hope may be dispelled, or it may become stronger. The man heading the Presidency still figures as the head of state in our consciousness. Therefore, everyone will watch to see how he behaves.

Drnovsek's opportunity in this field lies primarily in pacifying the forces, which he can achieve only through his active participation and not through appeals from the

presidential office. In the case of Kosovo, his style must be much closer to that of Sandro Pertini than, for instance, General Jaruzelski, if the worst Yugoslav aching wound is to begin to slowly heal.

A Slovene may undoubtedly be beneficial in pacifying the various forces among the Albanians. Honest suggestions for pacification should not be rejected by the Serbian people, either.

In brief, the new president should leave government business to the prime minister and should use all his strength to achieve national reconciliation. Then, all of Yugoslavia will remember him, for better or worse.

Markovic Discusses FEC, Assembly Programs
LD0304210689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—Based on explanations by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president when the FEC was formed, which the SFRY Assembly accepted, the work programs of the Assembly and of the FEC should be adapted and new priorities determined so that the most relevant issues of social and economic development are brought to the forefront of activities. In this connection, the FEC will draw up an operative plan of measures and activities for the implementation of economic policy this year, which will be a constituent part of the FEC's plan of work, and which will be submitted to the SFRY Assembly.

This was agreed at today's meeting of SFRY Assembly Vice President Spasoje Medenica and the president and vice presidents of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly with FEC President Ante Markovic and members of the FEC. The meeting considered issues of activities of the SFRY Assembly and the FEC in implementing the most important tasks for realizing the economic and social reforms.

The FEC informed representatives of the SFRY Assembly that by 15 May this year at the latest, it would look at the solutions given in the systemic laws which have been passed, in the law on enterprises, on financial activity, the basis of the banking system, and on accounting, and would propose suitable changes and amendments. The FEC will also consider and submit new solutions to the laws regulating economic relations with other countries.

The meeting also considered the dynamics of work on laws which are to be coordinated with the SFRY Constitution, within time limits set by the constitutional law for implementing the SFRY Constitution.

Markovic Receives Guinea's Jean Traore
LD0404203289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—Today Ante Markovic, FEC [Federal Executive Committee] president, received Jean Traore, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Guinea, who is visiting Yugoslavia. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, took part in the talks.

Markovic and Traore assessed that political relations between Yugoslavia and Guinea as good. They noted that economic cooperation should be further expanded and improved in accordance with mutual interests. The FEC president stressed that Yugoslav work organizations were interested in taking part in conducting investment projects in Guinea and in forming joint enterprises.

Talks touched on the activities of the nonaligned countries prior to the summit in Belgrade. It was agreed that it was of the utmost importance for the Nonaligned Movement that the member countries do everything needed to modernize the movement and consolidation of its influence in international relations.

Mitrovic, Others Address New Government Program
LD0404202389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1746 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 4 (TANJUG)—The new Yugoslav Government will have a new economic policy program draft in the beginning of May, so that delegates in the Federal Assembly will be able to discuss it by the end of the same month.

The above was stated today in the Assembly of Yugoslavia by Yugoslav Vice Premier Aleksandar Mitrovic who said that the draft program will be accompanied by corresponding anti-inflation measures.

Mitrovic stressed that the substance of the new economic policy is in increasing the production of commodities and services, stimulating social and private potentials, bigger offer both in the country and abroad [as received] all with the purpose of increasing the income.

Mitrovic also announced changes in the four systemic laws—on enterprises, on banks, on accounting and on financial operations.

In this way virtually all most important laws with which the previous Yugoslav Government wanted to begin the economic reform will be changed. At the same time this also represents a decisive step towards setting the Yugoslav economy free of administrative "fetters".

The package of laws on foreign economic relations should be adopted by the end of May, while nine provisional measures will be coordinated in the meantime.

At another meeting in Belgrade Yugoslav Minister for Work and Social Policy Radisa Gacic assessed that the halting of the falling standard of living in the country primarily depends on the extent to which it will be persevered in implementing the reform of the economic system. The new government is committing itself to

development programs which should enable the affirmation of work and work results as the principle basis for material and social security of workers and their families, Gacic stressed.

Gacic said that regulations are being prepared which will ensure compensations for bread, milk and cooking oil to the population with lowest income.

In Slovenia, Slovenian Minister for Health and Social Policy Franc Dolenc stressed support to the development concept of social policy. He explained that in Slovenia all those that have jobs will not enjoy welfare benefits because wages will guarantee the minimum of social security. Collectives which are unable to ensure this minimum will have to turn to economic recovery programs.

LCY's Tupurkovski on Economic Situation
AU0404114889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
29 Mar 89 p 16

[S. Papovic report: "The Logic of the League of Communists Can Only Be a Reforming Logic"]

[Text] Budva, 28 Mar—Judging by everything, the destabilization of relations in Kosovo, even in this most acute form, is continuing in the conflict with demonstrators. I have to say here that this is a great blow to our socialist community. It is no longer only a question of the establishment of order and peace. The situation in Kosovo obviously shows the long-term nature of the problem. These events are now not only an internal characteristic of our country, but will cause an international reaction, which is something that we must be more deeply concerned with," said Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia at the beginning of his meeting with the people of Budva at last night's discussion forum on "Reform and the Future of Socialism in Yugoslavia" at the Center for Marxist Education.

Dr Tupurkovski went on to say:

"The logic of the LC cannot be anything other than a reforming logic. Our crisis coincides with a crisis of socialism in the whole world. Socialism as a system is in a serious structural crisis. We have developed an arrogant attitude to the world of socialism. This is a time of licentiousness, and has really wreaked its revenge on us. We are experiencing this day after day. We cannot devote ourselves to strategic problems. Our crisis is not a transient crisis, but is strategic. It is difficult to answer the question of how we will stop this.

"I want to say to you that many of our intellectuals from Macedonia are leaving the country en masse. The serious social situation has made our younger generation go to the West in search of a better livelihood. The crisis is in the actual self-managing dogmatic socialism. In the sense

of the existing doctrine of socialism, even the year when socialism will be entered was established. We have constructed an omnipotent state apparatus which has controlled everything. We have a deficit of democracy and a surplus of statism. We have created a consensus economy which has not respected the market. We have not managed to reach an economically developed rate. This rate is even insufficient in the developed part of Yugoslavia, so let us not talk about the degree of development of Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo. We have managed to accumulate a huge foreign debt, which is giving all of us great troubles.

"The LC has transformed itself into strong state parties within the republics, into a party of the system, and this is reproducing our entire crisis. The market has also disintegrated. A wealthy North and a poor South has been created. However, the progressive forces of socialism are searching for better solutions. Above all, this involves a market orientation. This means that our work will be dependent on real objective conditions," said Tupurkovski.

"The cohesive factor in Yugoslavia is primarily the realization of socialism so that self-management is reproduced as an integrational relation, but the key issue is in the separation of the LC from state power. There is a serious struggle among factions in Yugoslavia, which is reflected in the national programs. So in Slovenia, there has now been a real proliferation of parties, and for its 14th Congress, the LC of Yugoslavia [LCY] will formulate an ideopolitical concept which will revitalize the political unity and unity in action of the LCY."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

On Cankar Hall

In reply to the question of whether the LCY Central Committee Presidium had analyzed statements made by certain responsible Slovene leaders in Cankar Hall, Dr Tupurkovski said:

"That evening [28 February] Cankar Hall was not perceived in Yugoslavia in a positive way, and comrades from Slovenia should be aware of this. At its last three sessions, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed Cankar Hall and everything that was said there, after which an inadequate statement was issued which did not explain much.

"It is not easy to conduct a dialogue and discuss these things and draw conclusions because of the sort of divisions that exist. They have entered our fabric, they have seriously penetrated it, and are very destructive—I would say malignancies in our political fabric—and now we must live with these. There is not sufficient courage in all communities to resolve these relations through criticism and self-criticism," said Dr Tupurkovski.

Presidency To Present Report at Assembly
LD0404135289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1119 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency, at a joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly to be held on 20 April, will give information on the political situation in the country. The collective head of state, in accordance with its responsibilities, presents such an analysis every year to the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly. It is expected that this speech will be made by SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic. [passage indistinct]

Poll Results on Most Popular Premier Released
AU0304162289

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 27 March on page 5 publishes an approximately 3,000-word item on the results of a telephone poll conducted by BORBA's public opinion research center. The poll researchers asked three questions: 1. "Which premier would you like the president of our government to resemble?"; 2. "What is the most important task of the new government?"; 3. What is in your view the "ideal government?"

"BORBA's public opinion research center polled 120 people randomly selected from the telephone directories. This refers to all six republics and Vojvodina, but not Kosovo, where it was impossible to carry out the poll. Even after three times, the quota of the necessary number of names from the directories did not produce any results. Kosovars are refusing to say what they think."

The following tables show the results of the poll.

Table 1. "Which premier would you like the president of our government to resemble?" [responses in percentages; figures as published]

1. Himself	27.5
2. Margaret Thatcher	23
3. Mikhail Gorbachev	18
4. Tito	9
5. Francois Mitterrand	5.5
6. Nobody	5
7. John Kennedy	3
8. Felipe Gonzalez	3
9. Theodore Roosevelt	0.5
10. Ronald Reagan	0.5
11. Bettino Craxi	0.5
12. Andreas Papandreou	0.5
13. Yitzhak Shamir	0.5
14. Pieter Botha	0.5
15. Anyone from the West	0.5
16. Slobodan Milosevic	0.5
17. Someone with characteristics of Tito/Markovic/Milosevic	0.5

1. Himself	27.5
2. Margaret Thatcher	23
3. Mikhail Gorbachev	18
18. Someone with characteristics of Thatcher/Bush/Gorbachev	0.5
19. Do not know	5

Table 2. "What is the most important task of the new government?" [answers in percentages; figures as published]

1. Curb inflation	32
2. Put economic situation in order	19
3. Put political situation in order	10
4. Put situation in Kosovo in order	6
5. Political-security situation	5.5
6. Prices	5
7. Recover economy	4
8. Increase standard of living	4
9. Find way out of crisis	3
10. Brotherhood and unity	2.5
11. Political and economic situation	2
12. Come closer to Europe	1
13. Increase productivity	1
14. Repay foreign debt	0.5
15. Reduce administrative costs	0.5

Table 3. "Ideal Government" [answers in percentages]

1. Our own government	37.5
2. None	18.5
3. Swiss	9
4. Any successful government	5
5. USSR	5
6. Any Western government	5
7. Swedish	5
8. U.S.	5
9. Japanese	0.8
10. British	0.8
11. FRG	0.8
12. French	0.5
13. Combination of British/French	0.4
14. Austrian	0.2
15. Any socialist government	0.2
16. Yugoslav from 10 years ago	0.2
17. Slovene	0.2
18. Combination of Israeli/South African	0.2
19. Italian	0.2
20. Spanish	0.2
21. Hungarian	0.2
22. Danish	0.1
23. Do not know	5

Stipe Suvar Continues Discussions in India

Gives News Conference

LD0404175989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] New Delhi, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and India have very similar views on the most topical problems of the modern world and guidelines for the Non-aligned Movement, stated Dr Stipe Suvar, president of

the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee Presidium, during the news conference in New Delhi this evening. The roundtable, during which in the past 2 days the LCY representatives and the Indian National Congress have examined new ideas for the Nonaligned Movement's activities, was organized at the right time, several months before the nonaligned summit in Belgrade, said Dr Suvar.

In reply to the question on the content of today's talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Dr Suvar said that the talks included the disturbance of the present balance of relations in the world and the action the Nonaligned Movement could take in such a situation. The stress was on economic problems in the world and in the new international economic system. The two sides also discussed modern tendencies to create regional economic groups. Both sides expressed fear that the developed countries that create such groups could use this to consolidate the protection of their markets, stated Dr Suvar.

During the talks with Prime Minister Gandhi, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium went on, we briefed him on the preparations for the nonaligned summit, in which representatives of 101 countries and liberation movements with the status of legitimate members and about 40 observers, guests, and representatives of international organizations will participate.

The main topics of the summit, said Suvar to the journalists, will be economic problems, peace and disarmament, the solving of conflicts and regional confrontations—especially in nonaligned countries, the consolidation of the United Nations, problems of ecology and human rights, and the general democratization of international relations.

In the words of Dr Suvar, India and Yugoslavia are against the institutionalization of the Nonaligned Movement and the founding of a permanent secretariat and believe that efforts should be made to make the movement more dynamic and efficient, avoiding the creation of permanent bodies.

Communique Issued

LD0404181889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] New Delhi, 4 Apr (TANJUG)—The most urgent task of the Nonaligned Movement is to formulate a strategy to implement initiatives for positive changes in the world and to resolve international problems through cooperation, not confrontation. The LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] and the Indian National Congress regard the United Nations as the only world forum that can ensure democratic and rational solutions of modern world problems.

These are the basic stances of the Yugoslav-Indian communique, published in New Delhi this evening, about the 2-day session of the LCY-Indian National Congress roundtable.

Both sides welcome rapprochement between East and West, and regard the action plan presented by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the third special UN General Assembly session on disarmament as a positive step toward disarmament.

The LCY and the (Indian National) Congress stress that there can be no real global progress in the world unless there is peace and social justice, and they appeal for the creation of an equal global political and economic order based on cooperation, coexistence, noninterference in internal affairs of other countries, and interdependence.

Today developing countries experience the greatest temptation in the economic area. North-South dialogue has made no progress, and debts are stifling many nonaligned countries. For that reason, they must cooperate more intensively between themselves and improve South-South cooperation, the communique states.

The two parties believe that progressive and democratic parties and movements have a significant responsibility for finding a path toward a better future, and assess that these forces can contribute toward the consolidation of international cooperation and resolution of the world's problems.

The LCY and the (Indian National) Congress express satisfaction with the traditional friendship between India and Yugoslavia, which was founded by Jawahar Lal Nehru and Josip Broz Tito. They confirm their loyalty to the philosophy, principles, and aims of non-aligned policy. Both parties will put much effort into making the ninth nonaligned summit, to be held in Belgrade in September, successful, the Yugoslav-Indian communique concludes.

The delegation headed by Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, took part in the Yugoslav-Indian roundtable.

Suvar Greets Hungary's Grosz on National Day
LD0304090189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0729 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—In connection with the national holiday of the People's Republic of Hungary, Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee Presidium, has sent a telegram on his own behalf and that of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Karoly Grosz, secretary general of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, expressing cordial felicitations and best wishes for the further successful socialist development of that country and for the further prosperity of the Hungarian people.

Meeting Between Dizdarevic, Mock Detailed
*AU0204175289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
30 Mar 89 p 2*

[D. C. report: "Emphasis Placed on Advantages of Experience in Economic Cooperation Between Belgrade and Vienna"]

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Austrian Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock in Belgrade yesterday. In a fairly long, cordial, and friendly talk they discussed relations between Yugoslavia and Austria and possibilities of improving cooperation in the bilateral and multilateral spheres. They assessed that the relations between the two neighboring and friendly countries are developing positively and on a stable basis in the spirit of good-neighborliness and mutual interests.

President Dizdarevic stressed the importance of the visit by Vice Chancellor Mock to Yugoslavia at the time of the two countries' increasingly apparent interests and needs to make the otherwise developed mutual cooperation in all spheres even more substantive. Particular attention was paid to economic cooperation, which has been one of the most essential elements in cooperation so far. It was concluded that the economic and other reforms in Yugoslavia are opening up even greater opportunities for the development of all forms of economic cooperation using the two countries' existing potentials—the advantages of being neighbors and positive trends in Europe.

They expressed interest in, through cooperation developed in such a way, creating favorable conditions to improve economic relations between Yugoslavia and the European Free Trade Association and the EC. Dizdarevic and Mock also discussed other issues concerning bilateral relations. Dizdarevic reiterated that it is in Yugoslavia's interest that the question of its minority in Austria be settled on the basis of a state agreement, which would be a stable link in the two countries' friendly cooperation.

President Dizdarevic spoke about the internal situation in the country and the measures undertaken to overcome the economic and political difficulties, as well as difficulties in Kosovo. The talk was attended by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Milos Krsitic, SFRY ambassador to Austria; and Paul Leifer, Austrian ambassador to the SFRY.

Mock's Lecture at Belgrade University

Austrian Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock yesterday visited Belgrade University and gave a lecture on the theme "Austria and Integration in Europe."

The prominent guest spoke about the significance of cooperation and closer ties with all European countries, about the objective problems and divisions that hinder and delay this process, and especially about Austria's preparations for making its decision on whether to apply to join the EC in a few weeks' time.

He confirmed Austria's readiness to help Yugoslavia in the implementation of its reforms and finding a way out of the crisis.

Alois Mock also answered the questions asked by several guests and professors of the university.

FRG To Implement Decision on SFRY Visas
*LD0404134689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1220 GMT 4 Apr 89*

[Text] Bonn, April 4 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has started preparations to implement its decision on the introduction of entry visas for Yugoslav citizens, expected to come into effect early in June.

The Foreign Ministry in Bonn said that the West German ambassador in Belgrade last Friday handed to the Yugoslav Government a diplomatic note cancelling the 1968 inter-government agreement on the abolition of visas, which requires a two-month advance notification period.

The West German Government is scheduled to review late in May a report on the problems relating to the so-called false asylum-seekers from Yugoslavia and take a final decision on whether to introduce visas.

Prior to that, most likely on May 12, the West German upper house, the Bundesrat, in which the laender are represented, will discuss a joint proposal of the interior and foreign ministries on how the issue of entry visas to Yugoslavs is to be regulated.

Bonn Foreign Ministry sources say that the West German consulates in Belgrade and Zagreb will, if given permission by Yugoslav authorities, open offices in Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Split and Skopje.

The same sources point out that an additional 150 West German consular personnel and around 500 Yugoslav employees will be required for the job.

A West German entry visa is to cost the equivalent of 15 marks in dinars.

West German diplomats, naturally, insist that the preparations are "conditional" and the introduction of entry visas for Yugoslavs will prove unnecessary should Yugoslavia, itself, succeed in resolving the problem of the so-called asylum seekers.

In March, as has been learned, large numbers of Yugoslavs again applied for political asylum in the Federal Republic, wishing to make use of the last chance, as is set out here. The official figures will most likely be published tomorrow.

The Yugoslav embassy in Bonn has announced that 50 or so persons have been discovered who had been engaged in the lucrative business of organizing the departure of false asylum seekers to the Federal Republic.

SFRY Emigrant on Trial for Terrorist Attacks
LD0404121489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1125 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Cologne, April 4 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav emigrant, member of the anti-Yugoslav organisation "Hrvatski Orzavotvorni pokret" (Croatian nation-building movement) is being tried here on charges of organising terrorist attacks in Yugoslavia in 1982.

Josip Ledic (39) is charged with recruiting and training another emigrant, Jandro Fracin, whom he later sent to plant three explosive devices on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast in the summer of 1982. The devices injured eight persons, some gravely.

Ledic is said to have procured in this city clocks and other parts used to construct the devices. Police found evidence in his flat here which he has occupied since 1972.

Fracin was arrested and sentenced in Yugoslavia to death. The sentence was later commuted to a 20-year prison term.

Ledic's arrest was the result of cooperation between West German and Yugoslav police authorities.

Cultural Cooperation Protocol Signed With GDR
LD0304192389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1815 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, April 3 (TANJUG)—A program for scientific, educational and cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) by 1991 was signed here today to intensify their successful cooperation for 25 years now. [passage omitted]

In terms of its variety, form and volume, the signed program is one of the richest programs for cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and other countries.

Albanian Minister's Remarks Criticized
LD0504062189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0455 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, April 4 (TANJUG)—Tirana's falsification and distortion of facts on the position of the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia is nothing new. However, Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile, during his recent visit

to France, "made the cup overflow" by misusing the hospitality of a third country to confirm unprecedented interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, it was said in television Pristina's commentary this evening.

The commentary assessed that the Albanian foreign minister in Paris crudely falsified the facts on the situation in Yugoslavia's province of Kosovo, reiterating the thesis set out by Albanian separatists about the alleged limitation of the province's autonomy and the threat to the language, culture and tradition of the local Albanian population.

The French public immediately saw through Malile. Television Pristina recalled the replies of the French mass media on accusations made by the Albanian minister and its objective articles on the position of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia.

Pristina television described the Albanian separatists' latest aggressive acts in Kosovo as an aggressive and brutal attack on Yugoslavia's constitutional order which ensures equal rights to all.

The security forces and Yugoslav People's Army units were not sent to Kosovo to persecute Albanians, as the Albanian propaganda claims, but to prevent the fulfillment of the Albanian separatists' sinister goals, the commentary stressed.

The March bloodshed in Kosovo, a consequence of the Albanian separatists' aggressive and brutal attacks on the security forces, proves the blindness of the Albanian separatists who are even prepared to sacrifice the lives of children to realize their destructive and anti-Yugoslav goals, Pristina television said.

The decisiveness of the whole of Yugoslavia to put an end to this destructive activity and establish conditions in Kosovo for a more peaceful and safe life for all nations, is the best guarantee that despite the tragic events in the province, the principles of socialist, federative and self-managing Yugoslavia will be preserved, Pristina television said.

Tudjman Appears in Court for Making Speech
AU0404183689 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
31 Mar 89 p 14

[TANJUG report: "Ban on Public Speeches Expired"]

[Text] Following the request of the Zagreb Public Prosecutor's Office that charges be brought against Franjo Tudjman (67) for committing a minor offense, the first hearing was held last Thursday in the Communal Court for Misdemeanors in the Zagreb commune of Centar.

The Prosecutor's Office claims that Franjo Tudjman made a public speech at a discussion forum of the Croatian Writers Association (the meeting at which the initiative to found the Croatian Democratic Community

was launched) despite the fact that he was banned by a court from making public speeches (in 1981 Franjo Tudjman was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for carrying out nationalist activities and spreading hostile propaganda).

At the court hearing, Tudjman, with his lawyer, admitted that he had publicly spoken at a discussion forum of the Croatian Writers Association and that he had been preparing himself for that for about 1 month. He also said that at that meeting he was one of the opening speakers, stressing that he had also made speeches at other meetings of the association because he is a member of the association.

In his defense, Tudjman tried to prove that the 5-year ban on making public speeches expired in March of 1988. He said that he had spent less time in prison because he had been pardoned. He had spent a total of 1 year, 4 months, and 10 days in prison. According to his calculations, deducting this time spent in prison from the sentence that became legally valid in 1981, the ban on his making public speeches has expired.

In the continuation of the hearing, the Communal Court for Misdemeanors will establish all of the legal facts and will then make a decision. If it is proved that Tudjman has committed an offense, he could be fined or given a prison sentence of up to 30 days.

Tetovo Court To Try Slovene Journalists
AU0404150789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 89 p 14

[Z. D. report "Trial of MLADINA and Radio Ljubljana Journalists"]

[Text] Tetovo, 30 Mar—The Communal Misdemeanors Court in Tetovo yesterday fully endorsed a request by the Tetovo District Public Prosecutor for misdemeanor proceedings to be initiated against MLADINA journalists Marjan Horvat and Andrijan Kirsin and Radio Ljubljana journalist Tanja Baresin.

In its request, the prosecutor assessed that the Slovene journalists, who had distributed badges showing fascist symbols, the two-headed Albanian eagle, and the words "We give up our lives—we do not give up Kosovo" in Tetovo on 14 March, had disturbed the peace, upset citizens, and provoked chauvinist hatred.

According to Velka Paunovski, president of the Communal Misdemeanors Court in Tetovo, the working people and citizens of Tetovo are very interested in the hearing which has been scheduled for 14 May in Tetovo. The Ljubljana journalists were issued with their summonses on time.

Charges Against Titograd Journalists Dropped
AU0504082489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 89 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Criminal Charges Against POBJEDA Journalists Dropped"]

[Text] Titograd 1 Apr—The Titograd Communal Public Prosecutor has rejected the criminal charges brought by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense against the POBJEDA journalists Cedomir Radusinovic and Jovan Stamatovic, and against Titograd television journalist Radomir Perosevic.

The above-mentioned journalists, as special correspondents in Kosovo, had stated that a list exists with 107 names of military figures connected with Albanian nationalism in Kosovo.

Army Paper Examines Political Pluralism
AU0404150989 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 89 p 3

[Lj. Stojadinovic commentary: "'Pluralism' or Monism"]

[Text] Political pluralism has already become the "topic of the day." Judging what "the plethora of political interests" might bring us is to a great extent going beyond the debating frameworks of the ivory tower creators of some "new" political concepts and is becoming a direct attitude toward reality. It is certainly indisputable that in its better parliamentary tradition, political pluralism means a high degree of a particular class democracy, and that therefore it is not some kind of Columbus-type discovery by the pragmatists of the new parties. Some of these—otherwise quite unjustifiably—attribute the theoretical expression of political pluralism in these lands to Kardelj. It should be mentioned that it is quite possible for a reader who is the slightest bit attentive to understand that Kardelj really spoke of pluralism as a pluralism of self-managing interests which in the given situation not only does not flirt with political pluralism but in fact excludes it.

However, apart from all this, one cannot talk about a one-sided anathema of political pluralism, especially not in democracies of the appropriate type and of the form where it (pluralism) is nurtured on the traditions of the appropriate social evolution. In what way should political pluralism be discussed in our country? It is clear that its first stages cannot be viewed separately from the practice of establishing political opposition parties, although political pluralism cannot be mechanically equated with multiparty organization.

Some of these "parties" have emphasized a struggle against the LCY as the foundation of their programmatic orientation, and most of them have been constructed on a single-national base and an unconcealed national platform. The majority of organizations (parties and alliances) include in their programs an unavoidable formula

for "attaining democracy" (read "attaining power"). Even a superficial analysis shows that the pluralistic standpoint is only an illusion since a single-national platform excludes it and brings it into the unavoidable context of a monistic and totalitarian consciousness. From the objective viewpoint, such "pluralism" is a step backward in the search for democracy even along with the invocation of some democratic standards "in Europe." Even some countries with a decades-long tradition of parliamentary democracy have not been consistent in respecting the proclaimed pluralism because they have banned the work of the communist parties in their countries. Some proponents of the fake democratic wave in our country are formulating political pluralism and the political future without the LCY.

It is not difficult to conclude that the noncommunist platform of some domestic parties have, among other things, turned toward a desired de-ideologization and depoliticization of the Army. Excluding the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] from policy in all its domains and even from political defense fits in completely with the plan of the new-party strategy to attain power. A single-national army is a quite logical concept for such power and a national state and is a concept which really contains nothing pluralistic.

Because of all this, the political meaning of the "depoliticization" of the YPA is no longer being concealed and to this end the future of Yugoslavia is being offered without the Army or an army without Yugoslavia. Such a future in any variation is of course not possible, but the concept of subversion continues. The anti-Army essence of the newly founded parties is also inevitably anti-Yugoslav. This is not a question of classic ideological etiquette but of the truth that has been affirmed for months. Attacks on the YPA cannot be "a democratic everyday event" and opposing them "a Bolshevik ideologization." According to such definitions, single-national party like-mindedness brings pluralism down to the level of an outdated farce and the dictate of a unity of views, which is transformed from being apparently democratic into essentially monistic, and not only when it comes to the YPA. The nationalistic concept of a single-national army would not stop at establishing one such entity. "Pluralism" as a product of the nationalist consciousness most frequently operates in a totalitarian way even as regards the use of the army.

The pioneers of freshly baked pluralism persistently continue to construct their apparently heterogeneous concepts, which nevertheless have one thing in common: a future without the YPA and the LCY. It is certain, however, that such a future cannot happen to us.

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